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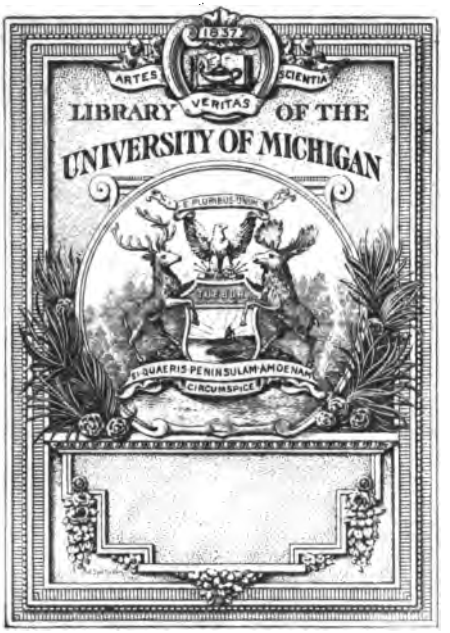
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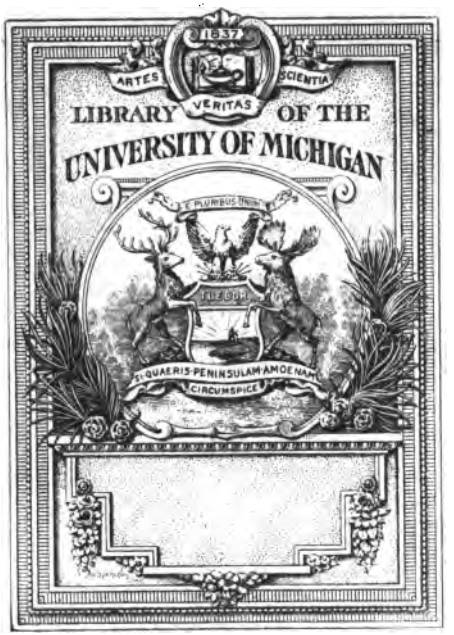
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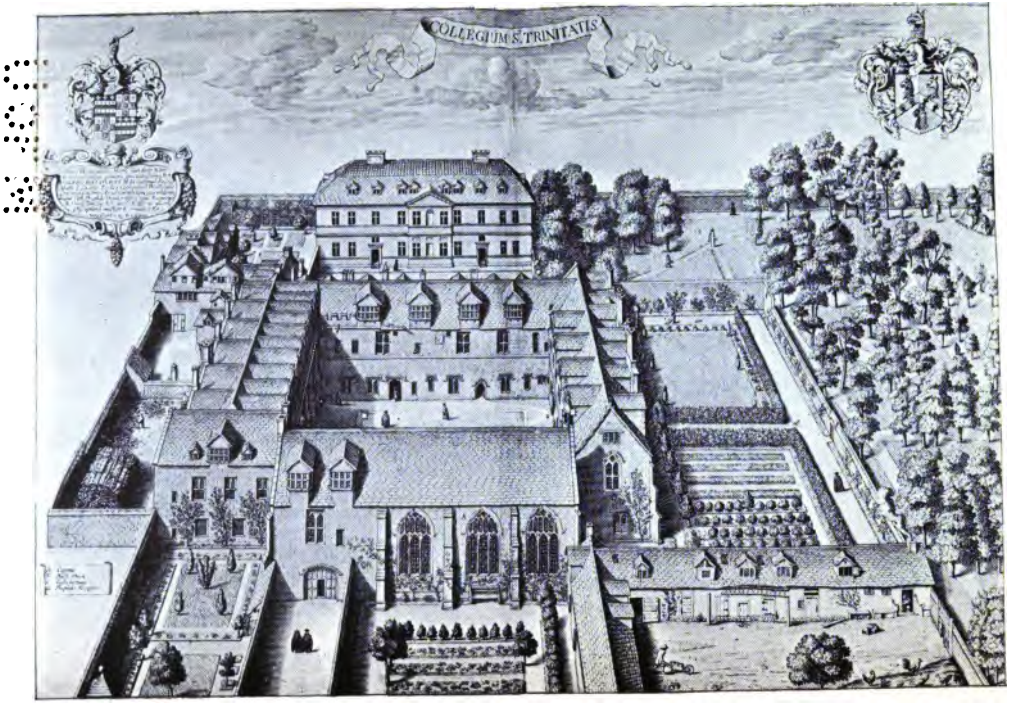

TRINITY (FORMERLY DURHAM) COLLEGE, 1675

AFTER D. LOGGAN

University of Oxford

COLLEGE HISTORIES

BY

HERBERT E. D. BLAKISTON, M.A

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF TRINITY COLLEGE

LONDON

F. E. ROBINSON

20 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY

1898

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PREFACE

THIS volume does not profess to be a complete history of the College: but it is based on a prolonged and exhaustive examination of all registers, accounts, and other documents in the archives, of other manuscript materials at Durham and Oxford, of the Calendars of State-Papers, etc., and of contemporary writers, especially those connected with the College. I have tried to tell the story continuously, using as fully as is possible within such narrow limits the actual words of my authorities. Though I have been obliged to confine myself somewhat rigidly to matters of local interest, yet not a few of the items and documents now first published will, I think, be found to illustrate the general development of University life and education.

I have not attempted to describe in detail the careers of such Trinity men as Chillingworth, Sheldon, Ireton, Ludlow, Somers, Stanhope, Chatham, North, Newman, Selborne, Freeman, or others who have been really important in various ways, though I have been careful to record anything known about their lives at Oxford. But I have mentioned, even briefly, as many names as possible, partly because the number of distinguished scholars and commoners is a special feature in the work of the College, and partly in the hope that here and there such mention may lead to the disclosure of letters or diaries, preserved by the same accidents as the

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Verney correspondence or Harris's autobiography, which might furnish me at some future date with additional materials for a larger volume.

All quotations which are made direct from the documents and early writers are printed here with the spelling of the original manuscripts or editions; and I have felt that not to give the actual Latin, medieval, legal, classical, or barbarous, of the earlier archives would involve serious loss of local colouring. However, I have often inserted equivalents for unusual terms. Common Christian names have been abbreviated, and some other methods employed to economise space. To avoid confusion, the dates are reckoned in all cases as those of the year January 1 to December 31, though the notation of the old legal year, March 25 to March 24, was more commonly used till the correction of the Calendar in 1752.

HERBERT E. D. BLAKISTON.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	DURHAM COLLEGE; SITE, BUILDINGS, AND HISTORY	1
II.	THE FOUNDER OF TRINITY COLLEGE	29
III.	THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE	51
IV.	THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY	75
V.	THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, FIRST PART	100
VI.	THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD	130
VII.	THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, SECOND PART	154
VIII.	THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	184
IX.	THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	213
APPENDIX:	CATALOGUE OF PORTRAITS	242

LIST OF PLATES

I. BIRDSEYE VIEW, FROM LOGGAN'S "OXONIA ILLUSTRATA" OF 1675, SHOWING OLD CHAPEL AND QUADRANGLE OF DURHAM COLLEGE, WITH THE FIRST PART OF GARDEN QUADRANGLE. . . . . *Frontispiece*

II. GARDEN FRONT OF EAST RANGE OF OLD QUADRANGLE, INCLUDING LIBRARY AND OLD PRESIDENT'S LODGINGS . . . *facing page* 26
Oxford Camera Club

III. EFFIGIES OF SIR THOMAS POPE AND DAME ELIZABETH POPE, FROM FOUNDER'S TOMB IN CHAPEL, *c.* 1567 . . . . . ,, 38
Reproduced from Engraving by J. Skelton

IV. KETTELL HALL, AND EAST END OF BROAD STREET COTTAGES, WITH SOUTH END OF NEW BUILDINGS . . . . . ,, 104
Oxford Camera Club

V. GARDEN QUADRANGLE, WITH NORTH END OF OLD PRESIDENT'S LODGINGS. . . ,, 160
Oxford Camera Club

VI. INTERIOR OF CHAPEL . . . . . ,, 166
Oxford Camera Club

VII. FORMER APPROACH TO COLLEGE, WITH EXTERIOR OF CHAPEL, BATHURST'S BUILDINGS, AND WEST END OF COTTAGES . . *facing p.* 202

Reproduced by permission from photograph by Messrs. Shrimpton & Son, taken in 1883

VIII. NEW BUILDINGS AND NEW PRESIDENT'S LODGINGS, TAKEN FROM BALLIOL COLLEGE ,, 236

Oxford Camera Club

CHRONOLOGICAL CONSPECTUS OF FORMER AND PRESENT BUILDINGS.

NOTE.—*Buildings now demolished are bracketed.*

DURHAM COLLEGE, 1286–1542.

Old Bursary and Common Room (? Oratory), part of Buttery, [and original Refectory and Kitchen]; 14th century, probably before 1380.
[Original Entrance-gateway, 1397.]
[Original Chapel, Treasury, and Porch, 1406–8.]
[North side of Quadrangle, 1409–14.]
East side of Quadrangle, Library, Vestry, and Chambers, 1417–21.

EXTERNAL BUILDINGS.

Broad Street Cottages, 16th century or earlier.
Kettell Hall, *c.* 1615.

TRINITY COLLEGE, 1555.

[Attics over north side of old Quadrangle, 1576–8.]
Attics over Library, etc., 1602.
Hall and Cellar, 1618–20.
Garden Quadrangle, north side, 1665–7.
Kitchen and Cellar, 1676.
[Bathurst's Buildings, 1687.]
Garden Quadrangle, west side, 1680–2.
Chapel, Gateway, and Tower, 1691–4.
Garden Quadrangle, south side, 1727–8.
Attic story of Garden Quadrangle raised, 1802.
New Buildings, 1883–5.
New President's Lodgings, 1885–7.

CHAPTER I

DURHAM COLLEGE: SITE, BUILDINGS, AND HISTORY

"THE College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity in the University of Oxford, of the Foundation of Sir Thomas Pope, Knight, commonly called Trinity College," is a good illustration of that desire for permanence amid changes which, in periods of reform and even of reaction, has characterised the development of English institutions. Trinity College cannot

CORRIGENDA.

p. 53, note, l. 3.—For "salis" read "satis."

p. 90, l. 5.—For "1606" read "1626."

p. 92, l. 23.—For "Ut" read "At."

p. 191, l. 7.—Read "contrary to all."

p. 227, l. 17., and in index.—Read "Goodenough Hayter."

publique reconnoissance. Ch. Hist. viii. 8 3, 43.

CHAPTER I

DURHAM COLLEGE: SITE, BUILDINGS, AND HISTORY

"THE College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity in the University of Oxford, of the Foundation of Sir Thomas Pope, Knight, commonly called Trinity College," is a good illustration of that desire for permanence amid changes which, in periods of reform and even of reaction, has characterised the development of English institutions. Trinity College cannot claim any legal continuity with the ancient, and in some ways unique, foundation of Bishop Hatfield, within the precincts of which it was "erected" in 1555; but there are indications that its founder was acquainted with the circumstances of the "College of Monks of Durham Studying at Oxford"; and as one of the first among pious laymen to re-dedicate to the promotion of "true religion and sound learning" some portion of the vast wealth of the suppressed monasteries[1], he must have considered it specially appropriate to secure a site and buildings at once academic and monastic. Thus,

[1] "Now as none were Losers employed in that service," says Fuller, "so we finde few refunding back to Charitable Uses; and perchance this man alone the *thankful Samaritan* who made a publique Acknowledgement." Ch. Hist. viii. § 3, 43.

though Trinity College has flourished for only three and a half centuries, it inherits the labours of those "religious" men who consecrated so fair a ground to learned quiet more than six centuries before these days of socialist orators and street music.

DURHAM COLLEGE was one of the dependent Cells of the great Benedictine Abbey of St. Cuthbert on the Wear, and its inmates were Durham Monks temporarily studying at Oxford in charge of a superior who was called the "Prior Oxoniae."[1] The novices were first instructed in the cloister by their *magister* in the "primitive sciences" of Grammar, Logic, and Philosophy; and regulations as to study were made from time to time by the Benedictine chapters, and especially by the reforming Pope Benedict XII., whose Constitutions[2] in 1337 provided that all monasteries should send to the *generalia studia* one twentieth or more of their total numbers, under the rule of a *prior studentium* to be chosen by the Presidents of the provincial chapter. But recourse to the higher teaching of the Universities was probably forced upon the older Orders in the first instance by the brilliant success of the Friars, who had settled at Oxford early in the 13th century; and the desirability of a private hall or "manse" for monastic students was soon suggested by Walter de Merton's ingenious adaptation of monastic rules to academic life. The Benedictines had no house nearer than Abingdon or Eynsham; and in 1283 a benefactor

[1] The 'Prior Oxoniae' voted with the Priors of Finchale, Holy Island, Coldingham, Jarrow, &c., at the election of a Bishop of Durham: Gilbert Elwyk is found voting as 'Prior Oxoniae' in 1316 and John of Beverley in 1333.

[2] See Wilkins, Concilia, ii. 594.

provided near Beaumont Palace, soon to be granted to the Carmelite Friars, a house for thirteen students from the Abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester; and this was much enlarged by the addition of hostels for other great abbeys of the southern province, after a chapter held at Abingdon in 1291. But the richest of the northern abbeys had already made its own arrangements; and as early as 1286[1] Mabel (Wafre) Abbess of the Benedictine nunnery of Godstow, granted

"to God, and to our lady Seynt Marie, and to Seynt Cuthbert, and to the priour and convent of Dureham .... all ther arable londs, the whiche they had fro a diche thurte over in Bewmounte [Park St.] in the suburbis of Oxenford .... and whatsoever right they had in voide groundes beside Peralowse Hall [now Kettell Hall] in Horsemonger-strete [Broad St.]"

at an annual quit-rent of 10*s*. To this excellent site "in bello monte" were soon added by gift or purchase other lands, tofts and messuages, belonging to St. Frideswide's, the Hospital of St. John, Roger Semer, Walter Bost, John le Slater of Eynsham, and other citizens. The whole *placea* eventually secured seems to have been nearly ten acres, with a frontage of about 50 feet on Broad Street and 500 feet on "the Kyngis hye waye of Bewmounte." The title deeds were sent to Durham and are still among the muniments

[1] The deed can be dated by the name of a witness, "Philippo de Ho, tunc maiore Oxon.", and by comparison with an *Inquisitio ad quod dampnum* of 3 April 20 Edw. I. (1292), which specifies the five acres from Godstow and most of the smaller grants. The quotation is made from the English version of the Godstow Cartulary, now in the Bodleian, MSS. Rawlinson, A 408.

of the Dean and Chapter; and among the seals thus preserved is one of uncommon interest. That of the Parish of St. Mary Magdalen, bearing the Star and Crescent of its greatest native, Richard I., is the earliest English parochial seal, and the only one known in which the *parochiani* alone represent their parish.[1]

The contemporary Durham chronicler, Robert de Graystanes, traces the original settlement at Oxford to a feud between Prior HUGH DE DERLINGTON and his successor, Prior RICHARD DE HOUTON,

"malo occasionem administrante boni, sicut peccatum unde fuit occasio redemptionis nostrae."

Prior Hugh, on resuming office in 1287, took revenge on Richard, then sub-prior, for an injudicious remark, by making him Prior of Lytham, and then reducing him to the ranks at Coldingham; and, apparently in order to remove students from his influence,

"monachos misit Oxoniam ad studendum et eis satis laute expensas ministrabat."

Richard, on becoming Prior of Durham in 1290, did not wish to be outdone: "locum Oxoniae comparavit et aedificare fecit." It is not probable that much was done then; for, though John of Beverley and other monks were in Oxford and present at the execution of a quit-claim in 1303, it was found necessary to re-execute this deed in favour of the next prior, William de Tanfield, in 1313. Richard de Houton himself had little leisure

[1] It is figured as an illustration to my article on "Some Durham College Rolls" in Oxford Historical Society Collectanea iii., in which may be found more details about these and other documents illustrating the history of Durham College.

for educational objects, as he soon became involved in a quarrel with his bishop, Antony Bek, as to the right to visit the convent; and after being deposed and imprisoned, supported by Edward I. and his Parliament, reinstated by Boniface VIII., deposed again by Clement V., and again reinstated by the same Pope for a fee of 1000 marks, he died at Rome in 1307.

An inventory of vestments belonging to the Oxford house and of books lent to it by the Abbey *de communi armariolo* indicates that a fresh start was made about 1315. To this period belongs a letter from Gilbert Elwyk to Geoffrey de Burdon, Prior of Durham 1313–22, complaining that the Chancellor of the University, having been allowed with his *comitiva* or *socii* to occupy the chambers, while the monks used the dormitory, had not only refused to make any contribution towards the heavy expenses of the owners, but had attempted to appropriate the Hall altogether by depositing a *caucio* with his own Commissary, in the manner of the would-be principal of a vacant hostel. The monks had tried to pacify him:

"Pacem obtulimus suis ut ipsi omnes ad nos redirent pro anno presenti, dum tamen ipse solo verbo promitteret se non vendicaturum ius ibi inhabitandi vlterius; et minime admiserunt. Quia vero vniversitatis capud est et oculus Archiepiscopi, nullus audet nobis patrocinari publice in hac parte, vno dumtaxat excepto iuuene gracioso, Magistro Symone de Stanes, in iure civili inceptore; qui mauult odium Cancellarii sustinere, quam monasterium Dunullmense depressionem vel iacturam, vbi ipse posset occurrere, pateretur. Vnde omnes ei tenemur; et pro omnibus satisfacere vobis honorificum et vtile ecclesie nostre foret.

Hec est grossa materia, sed multa circumstant, que vobis plenius intimari non poterunt per scripturam."

It is possible that some fragments of the original "*domus et clausura*" survive in the Old Bursary and Common Room, and in the wall with a pointed arch between the Hall and Buttery.

The latest of the grants of land was made in Jan. 1326, and in the same year Oseney Abbey agreed to take 2*s.* per annum in lieu of all tithes and oblations due to the parish church of St. Mary Magdalen. A licence for a *cantaria* or oratory was obtained from Henry Burghersh, Bishop of Lincoln 1320–40; this may have been the present Common Room, since the building lies east and west, and must be earlier than the plan for a quadrangle. At first the students would be supported by their ordinary allowances from the Feretrarius, Camerarius, and Communarius of Durham; and certain contributions, *pensiones*, or *curialitates*, made by the other cells.[1] But in 1338 the famous book-collector, Richard Aungerville or de Bury, Bishop of Durham 1333–45, persuaded his old pupil Edward III. to discharge a vow made at the battle of Halidon Hill, by endowing a college (to be dedicated to God and St. Margaret) for a prior and twelve student monks of Durham. The appropriation of the valuable rectory of Simondburn in North Tynedale was conceded, but never took effect; nor was another design more successful. In the course of a magnificent career as Chancellor and ambassador to the Court of Rome, to Paris, Hainault,

[1] These payments were very irregular, as appears from the published account rolls of Coldingham, Jarrow, Wearmouth, and Finchale; the earliest entry is dated 1343, the latest 1432.

and Germany, Richard had accumulated a great collection of manuscripts; he was recognised throughout Europe as an enthusiastic patron of learning, though Petrarch, who met him at Avignon, evidently thought him somewhat of an amateur, calling him

"virum ardentis ingenii nec literarum inscium, abditarum rerum ab adolescentia supra fidem curiosum."

He surrounded himself with such scholars as Thomas Bradwardin and Richard FitzRalph; and the famous treatise on the love of books, the "Philobiblon," which he wrote, or caused to be written by Robert Holcot, concludes with an account of the rules, based on those of the library of the Sorbonne, under which he intended to establish in the Oxford Hall a great semi-public library, containing even Greek and Hebrew Grammars:

"Libros omnes et singulos, de quibus catalogum fecimus specialem, concedimus et donamus, intuitu caritatis, communitati scholarium in aula N. Oxoniensi degentium, in perpetuam eleemosynam . . . ut iidem libri omnibus et singulis universitatis dictae villae scholaribus et magistris tam regularibus quam saecularibus commodentur pro tempore ad profectum et usum studentium."

It has long been supposed that this collection was actually deposited in Durham College and dispersed at the Reformation; but it is now known that the Bishop died deeply in debt, and that a few volumes, the relics of his collection, were sold to the Abbot of St. Albans. Among the Durham College documents is a catalogue of the books it possessed c. 1400; those specified in 1315 are mentioned and about as many more, which can hardly have represented the *Bibliotheca Aunger-*

villiana of later assertion. The room, which still serves as a library, was not erected till 1417; of the books it contained some seem to have been preserved for the Chapter Library at the dissolution, notably the valuable MS. of the Homilies of Gregory, which dates from the time of Bishop William of St. Calais.

In 1340 the Prior or Warden of the student-monks was associated by Sir Philip de Somerville with the "Extrinsic Masters" as a visitor for the six new scholarships which he added to Balliol College. Innocent VI. in 1358, and Edward III. in 1362, empowered the convent to endow the Hall by appropriating to it the church of Appleby near Ashby-de-la-Zouch, the advowson of which belonged to the cell of Lytham; but the scheme was never carried out. About this time a member, probably warden, of the Oxford "nursery," Uthred de Bolton, afterwards Prior of Finchale, gained a great reputation, not only as Edward III.'s ambassador to Gregory XI. in 1374, but as a learned controversialist, especially against the Friars, whose champion Tryvytlam[1] denounces him as a blasphemer, a Scot, and a beast armed with two horns, who

> "Solis innititur verbis fantasticis
> Confingit media sine radicibus
> Putatur ideo loqui subtilius."

At last the most magnificent of the prince-bishops of Durham, Thomas Hatfield, one of the most trusted advisers of Edward III. in his wars with France and Scotland, and memorable as an architect for the beauti-

[1] See Tryvytlam De Laude Oxoniae, in Oxf. Hist. Soc. Collectanea iii.

ful throne which he erected in Durham Cathedral and the grand hall which he added to the Castle, determined to endow the Oxford cell, on the lines on which Archbishop Islip had unsuccessfully attempted to establish in "Canterbury College" a foundation consisting of 4 monks and 8 secular students. He concerted measures with the energetic Prior (1374–91), Robert Berington or de Walworth, employing as agent a monk named John Berington, whose accounts as acting trustee 1382–9 contain much detailed information. Hatfield's charter took the form of a contract with the Prior and Convent of Durham, executed in March 1381, that for the sum of £3000 they would provide an income of 200 marks for the maintenance at Oxford of eight monks and eight secular students. Hatfield died 8 May 1381; and his trustees proceeded to take over the Hall, to repair and improve the existing buildings, and to invest the fund. Prior Robert had been given to understand *per certos fideles amicos* (probably his relation, the famous Lord Mayor, William de Walworth, who was one of the trustees) that in London money could be safely invested at 10 per cent.; but the capital fund was in fact treated as the property of the Convent, which undertook to assign estates. John Berington was *multum specialis* with the great landowner, John Lord Nevill, the builder of Raby Castle,

"et cum ipsius consilio negocia sua peregit in hoc facto. Et primo proposuit dictam dotacionem de temporalibus perfecisse, et factis duabus obligacionibus in stapula Westmonasterij per dictum dominum de Nevill quarum vna de ij m[l] marcis et altera de quingentis li. sterlingorum, idem dominus de Nevill recepit pre manibus de dicto Joanne

Beryngton monacho diuersas summas pro manerio de Heley, terris in Sundyrland iuxta dyram, Durham, old Durham, Ebchester, Hertilpoll, Fery on the Hyll, Kyrkmerynton, que omnes terre preter Heley postea reddite sunt dicto domino de Nevill, et ex tunc ipse dedit et concessit domino Regi aduocaciones ecclesiarum de Rodynton et Bossall pro quibus recepit m[l] marcas. Concesserunt eciam dicti Prior et Capitulum dicto domino aduocaciones ecclesiarum de Welton et Walkynton in excambium pro aduocacionibus ecclesiarum de Frampton et Fishlake." [1]

Clerical corporations were fond of investing their funds in advowsons, of which they "appropriated" the great tithes; but the process was a wasteful one, owing to the expenditure on pensions for the rectors in possession, and on fees, bribes, and travelling expenses in securing the consent of the bishops of the dioceses, the King, and the Pope. The receipts from the rectories of Frampton (near Boston), Fishlake (near Doncaster), Bossall (near York), and Ruddington (near Nottingham), with *pensiones* of £4 and £16 from the rectory and vicarage of Northallerton, were made up to about £240 by the customary contributions from Durham and the Cells. A large sum was spent out of capital in stocking the rectorial glebes and providing necessaries at Oxford. Hatfield's intentions as expressed in the *Ordinatio*, which served as the Statutes of his College, may be briefly summarised: [2]

"The dedication is 'ad honorem sanctissimae Trinitatis, beatissimae Virginis, et gloriosissimi confessoris Cuthberti,'

[1] From an unpublished document at Durham.

[2] I quote from my article in Oxf. Hist. Soc. Collectanea iii.; the original is printed in Wilkins, Concilia, ii. 614–6.

and there are to be special prayers for Hatfield and his family, for his old master, Edward III., "nuper regis Angliae invictissimi, sub cujus alis a juventute fuerat enutritus," for Queen Philippa, and for the Bishops of Durham. The foundation is to consist of eight student monks, chosen by the Chapter of Durham, 'secundum vim et formam in constitutionibus Benedictinis de studentibus ad generalia studia transmittendis provide ordinatam, ut philosophiae et theologiae dumtaxat vacent principaliter et intendant.' One of these is to be selected by the Prior to be Warden; he is to hold a weekly chapter and transmit to Durham the names of the contumacious. There are to be two Bursars, who, with the Warden, are to manage the estates, make all necessary payments for books, clothes, and wages, bring up the accounts at a quarterly audit, and send an annual *compotus* to Durham. The stipend of a *socius* is fixed at £10, but a further allowance is to be made towards the cost of taking the BD and DD, if there is a sufficient balance.

"The special feature, however, of Hatfield's scheme was the inclusion on the foundation of eight secular students in grammar and philosophy at a stipend of 5 marks each, to be selected by the four or five senior monks, four from the city or diocese of Durham, two from the Bishop's lordship of Allertonshire, and two from that in Howdenshire. They were to dine 'in secunda mensa seorsim a monachis cum clerico[1] et aliis servientibus,' to have separate rooms, to attend duly the college chapel and the schools, to be provided with 'tunicis et caputiis bis in anno,' and to perform all 'honesta ministeria' for the monks. Scholars might remain in the college for seven years, 'si voluerint et

[1] The warden's clerk and the 4 or 5 *valletti*, viz., pincerna, cocus, sub-cocus, barbitonsor, and carpentarius. A laundress is mentioned in 1432; and a manciple in 1526.

habuerint testimonium satis laudabile'; but the power of removal or expulsion was carefully reserved to the Prior of Durham. They were under no obligation to take vows, but were required to take an oath to honour the monks and help the Church of Durham to the best of their ability, in whatever rank of life they might be."

These *pueri seculares* seem on the whole to have lived peaceably with the monks; but in 1431 Prior John Wessington (1416–46) had to call attention to an "ordinacio," in which his predecessor, John Hemmingburgh, enjoined stricter obedience to their duties. Of the common seal a solitary example survives, attached to a letter dated 1438; but the arms of Bp. Hatfield, *azure a chevron or between three lions rampant argent*, adopted by the College, are still to be seen in the quatrefoil of the large window in the south end of the Library.

In 1422 Thomas Ledbury, as the Prior established in Gloucester Hall to superintend the students from the Benedictine Abbeys of the southern province, lodged complaints against the Warden, Wm. Ebchester, for having defied his authority by walking out of the proper order in processions and by submitting the dispute to the secular university courts rather than to the general chapter. The Warden claimed complete exemption from the Prior's jurisdiction; and was strongly supported by the energetic Prior of Durham. The document in which Wessington proved "quod Prior studencium non habet interesse in collegio nostro Oxon, ea racione quod prius erat Prior in dicto loco nostro quam erat creatus aliquis Prior Studencium" is still extant;[1]

[1] Printed in Oxf. Hist. Soc. Collectanea iii.

it contains some important citations bearing on the antiquity of the College, and concludes in true medieval style with a parade of references, mostly irrelevant, to the Digest and the Decretals.

From the College account rolls now preserved at Durham, among which the annual *compoti* form an almost complete series from 1389 to 1496, while there are many scattered specimens of the quarterly statements, it is possible to collect much information as to names and buildings, and gain some idea of the ordinary life of the society as shown in its expenditure. The wardenship of the College was generally a stepping-stone to more important offices. William Ebchester, whose name remains in the upper lights of a window adjoining the Common Room, was Prior of Durham 1446–56, having represented the Abbey in all the triennial Benedictine Chapters at Northampton 1426–41; John Burnby (warden 1442–50 and 1453–6, and for 3 years a Commissary of the Chancellor) succeeded him in both capacities; Richard Bell became Prior of Finchale, and was Bishop of Carlisle 1478–96; Robert Ebchester, John Aukland, Thomas Castell, and Hugh Whitehead, all ex-wardens, succeeded one another as Priors from 1478 to 1540; other wardens were transferred to the dependant Priories of Jarrow, Wearmouth, Holy Island, or Finchale, or to the great offices of Durham Abbey. Wm. Sever or Senhouse, Bp. of Carlisle and Durham, was probably educated here. Gilbert Kymer, physician to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, resided in the College when Chancellor of the University 1446–53; a distinguished Friar, John Kynton, was buried in the chapel in 1535, where were also brasses to

William Appylby, warden 1404–9, Richard Hanshert, Constable of Durham Castle (d. 1497), and Ralph Hamsterley, Master of University College 1509, and a benefactor to the monks.

The author of a remarkable description of the old times, known as the "Rites of Durham," records the process by which the Abbey provided students for the College:

"Ther was alwayes vj Novices, which went daly to schoule within the House, for the space of vij yere, and one of the oldest mounckes, that was lernede, was appointed to be there tuter. The sayd novices had no wages, but meite, drinke, & clothe, for that space. The maister or tuteres office was to se that they lacked nothing, as cowles, frocks, stammyne, beddinge, bootes, and socks, and whene they did lack any of thes necessaries the Maister had charge to calle of the Chamberlaynes for such thinges. For they never receyved wages, nor handled any money, in that space, but [were] goynge daly to ther bookes within the Cloyster. And yf the maister did see that any of theme weare apt to lernyng, and dyd applie his booke, and had a pregnant wyt withall, then the maister dyd lett the Prior have intellygence. Then streighteway after, he was sent to Oxforde to schoole, and there dyd lerne to study Devinity."

But the fellows of the College were always regarded as monks of Durham temporarily resident at Oxford; they contributed to the extraordinary expenses of the Abbey, such as the cost of the new dormitory and lavatory, and of the *maiorum nouorum organorum*, and the expenses of the "Almonry Bishop," elected by the choristers to be lord of misrule at the festival of the

Holy Innocents; and the horses of the Warden and Bursars had a special place in the Durham stables. The accounts show that they received liberal allowances for commons, pocket-money, travelling expenses, clothes, and servants; that they entertained handsomely on the two feasts of St. Cuthbert (20 Mar. and 4 Sept.), and kept the founder's obit; and that if a member of the Hall died, the College feasted the poor at his funeral. The inventories[1] prove that they possessed a store of splendid vestments, chapel furniture, and plate; that their hall, buttery, and kitchen were well stocked; that they had fires not only in their *loquitorium* or parlour, but in their spacious *camerae;* that the industrious were provided with studies and the sinners with stocks ('Item j catesta pendens in aula'). For sometimes a brother would forget that it was only 'ex speciali gracia et favore' that he had been sent 'ad almam universitatem Oxoniae'; to such a one a Prior writes that

"vicos et venellas ejusdem villae, invito tuo custode, ad libitum propriae voluntatis insolenter discurris; et nedum mansionem cujusdam communis meretricis, cum qua redderis multipliciter suspectus, verum eciam laicorum domos et loca suspecta frequentare non vereris, bona nostri collegii et eciam aliena tamquam prodigus nequiter consumendo, ita quod, ut asseritur, vix tibi superest operimentum corporis aut grabati,"

adding, at the end of a long exhortation, that he will not hesitate to inflict 'condignam ulcionis poenam.'

[1] I have printed some of these inventories in Oxf. Hist. Soc. Collectanea iii. The "Status Collegii" of 1428 is probably the earliest extant list of furniture and utensils in a college, and throws some light on the arrangement of the buildings.

The buildings as completed were too large for the small numbers; and rooms were let to persons not on the foundation, the total rents received ranging from 43*s.* in 1390 to £8 2*s.* in 1473. Among these *pensionarii* the monks of York and Whitby are specially mentioned.

Unfortunately the endowment by means of impropriations had been ill advised, and within a few years the College had to face serious expenses "in curia Romana pro reformacione ecclesiarum nostrarum," that is, for the regulation of diocesan fees and stipends to vicars, as well as lawsuits about the churches of Bossall and Ruddington. The Convent was unable or unwilling to come to the relief of the College; and in 1405 the diminution in the number of students was reported by the authorities of the University to Bp. Walter Skirlaw, an eminent diplomatist and lover of architecture. Skirlaw insisted that the convent should fulfil their contract, though they alleged that their own estates in Northumberland were continually wasted by the Scotch, and that their mills and bridges near Durham had been destroyed by the floods of 1401. The contributions from the Abbey and the various Cells were paid, though irregularly, for some years longer. Skirlaw himself assisted the College, and left £20 or more for the chapel in 1406. Considerable sums were collected and spent on buildings between 1409 and 1421; and the College received other assistance—*e.g.*, from Cardinal Thomas Langley, who in 1439 left "librum integrum Augustini super Psalterium in tribus voluminibus," and £10

"in aliquale subsidium et relevamen, ut Collegiati ibidem in suis missis et devocionibus orent Deum pro anima mea."

To an earlier benefactor, Richard Vernon, 'generoso viro et nobili domino,' the Convent granted letters of fraternity in 1366, in return for kindness to the Cell of students at Oxford; and the arms now or formerly in the windows of the library or chapel probably commemorate other cases of generosity. But the "agricultural depression" of the 15th century told so severely on the revenues that by 1459 the gross receipts had sunk to £145. In that year the monks were forced for shame to procure the appropriation of the rectory of Brantingham on the Humber, one of their oldest pieces of patronage; but in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII. the net income is under £123, and the stipends had been reduced by one-fifth.

After 1496 nothing is known except the names of a few students who took degrees; one of these, THOMAS SPARKE, D.D., Prior of Holy Island in 1528, was consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Berwick in 1537, and was subsequently Master of Gretham Hospital and Rector of Wolsingham. But two paper *compoti* of 1540–2 throw some light on the extinction of the College. The receipts from the rectories appear to have been commuted for fixed *pensiones*, and there was a tenement at Hanborough near Woodstock, probably a place of retreat from the epidemics which infested Oxford in the sixteenth century.[1] On 31 Dec. 1540, the last Prior surrendered Durham Abbey and its Cells to the Crown; and the net income of the College estates makes up the

[1] "Item the said College hathe in Handeborough besides Woodstock a Howse, with the Haull, Chapell, Chambers viij, Kechyn, and Gardyne, with lands in the Feeld, hadd bi copie holden of the Kyng as they say, of the yearly rent of viij^{s} to the Kyng's Majesty of the Maner of Woodstok." Survey of c. 1544.

odd figures in the grand total of £2115 12*s.* 6½*d.* But the Abbey had been singularly free from scandals, and was reconstituted in May 1541 as the Cathedral Chapter, which was endowed with the possessions of Durham, Holy Island, Coldingham, and the Oxford College, including

"totum illud scitum circuitum ambitum et praecinctum cujusdam nuper Collegii vocati *Duresme College* infra villam Oxon. in com. nostro Oxon. ac totam illam ecclesiam sive capellam, campanile, coemiterium, una cum omnibus domibus, aedificiis, pomariis, gardinis, hortis, et solo."

Prior Hugh Whitehead became the first Dean of Durham, and the last warden of the College, Edward Hyndmer, with the other officers of the convent, received the prebendal stalls. The College, therefore, was not directly suppressed, and for one year at least was supported by the Dean and Chapter on the same scale as before, with the net revenue of Frampton (£28 6*s.* 8*d.*) and a cash payment of £100, under the senior fellow, George Clyff, as *Rector*. It might have been worked in connexion with Henry VIII.'s "King's School" at Durham, the only part ever carried out of a grand scheme for a "University College" at Durham with a total endowment of £710, for a Provost, Readers in Greek, Hebrew, Divinity with Latin, and Physic, sixty scholars, a schoolmaster and an usher, and twenty divinity students at Oxford and Cambridge; but all this fell through. The college estates were absorbed in those of the Chapter, to whom Fishlake, Bossall, and Brantingham still belong. The site and buildings were included in a fresh surrender to

the Crown in 1544, and were not regranted. For some time

"Durham and S. Bernard's laid void, and were kept for Dr. Wright's[1] and Dr. Kennal's Bachelaurs, called by the Waggish Scholars of these times, 'the two Kennels of Hounds and Grayhounds,"

till Bernard College with half the grove of Durham College was granted to Christ Church in 1546, and the latter in 1553 to Dr. George Owen of Godstowe and William Martyn of Oxford, who sold it to Sir Thomas Pope on 20 Feb. 1554.

The chief authority for the original buildings is a very careful survey entitled "the situacion and view of Durham College in the suburbes of Oxforde," drawn up for the Augmentation Office c. 1544. From a close comparison of this, on the one hand with various notes in the Durham account-rolls, and on the other with the admirable birdseye view of Trinity in D. Loggan's "Oxonia Illustrata" of 1675, and the inferior prints in W. Williams's "Oxonia Depicta," and other later evidence, it is possible to form a clear idea of the growth and appearance of Durham College, with special reference to the existing remains; though the attics or "cocklofts" with handsome dormer windows, inserted in the high-pitched roofs of the upper story all round the college, must have materially altered the general effect of the old quadrangle.

The entrance to the College lay in Horsemonger Street, a broad open space, extending to the old walls

[1] Walter Wright, Archdeacon of Oxford, and Vice-Chancellor 1547–9: see Wood, Hist. and Ant., ed. Gutch, ii. 137.

of the city between Smithgate and Northgate, and long showing traces of the moat or pool of clearish water from which it was often called Canditch. The gateway was nearly opposite the postern called Turl (*i.e.*, Trill or Thorold's) Gate, and occupied a frontage of 20ft., touching the S.E. corner of Balliol College, at that point originally St. Margaret's Hall. Some 40ft. to the E. were the three old academic hostels, Banner, Bodyn, and Brackley Halls, now represented by the Broad Street Cottages, and after another interval Perles or Perilous Hall, belonging to Oriel. Between these and the city wall stood a row of squalid cottages with yards encroaching on the street, which were still there in 1636. This "new gate" cost £5 0*s.* 8½*d.* in 1397; a drawing taken by Francis Wise before its demolition in 1733 shows a large archway with shields and a square-headed postern surmounted by a fine niche of early Perpendicular work. From this point ran a narrow road between the Balliol wall on the W., and another narrow strip of ground on the E., which was afterwards a garden for the Presidents of Trinity. At the lower end this "entry" had on the left the small Bursary Garden, which still preserves its old walls, and on the right "a Yate brode for cartts to go into the grove of the seid College." A stable, 44ft. by 15, was on the S. side of this cart-road; the out-buildings shown by Loggan seem to be of later date.

The great door into the "Quadrantt," and presumably some sort of porter's lodge, stood, as now, at the lower end of the long entry: on the right hand side of the short archway was the door into

"a proper fayr Chappell, cont. in lenght iij^{xx} fote and in bredethe xxvj fote, having ij litill Aulto^{rs} at the entring in into the seid Chapell, the oon aulto^{r} on the south side and the other Aulto^{r} on the Northe side, and a nother Aullto^{r} within the Quere called the High Aullto^{r}; and in the seid Chapell there is a particion the Quere having the larger Rome; and in the seid Quere there be fayre Seats on every side able to receive l^{ti} parsons with many books therein of litill valo^{r}, and in the same Quere a litill payre of orgaynes, and a Vestre on the Northe side of the Quere."

This was the "new chapel" erected in 1406–8, at a cost of £135 18*s.*, and licensed for interments by an expensive bull of John XXIII. in 1412. It was some feet shorter than the present chapel, which overlaps the gable end of the east range and obscures the little doorway of the vestry under the library, which is shown by Loggan on the left of a window now cut down to make an entrance. This vestry or *revestiarium* was perhaps used as the treasury also, in which were kept the *jocalia* or pieces of plate, the best napkins and tablecloths, as well as some of the chapel furniture and vestments. The chapel itself consisted of three bays with Perpendicular windows of the best period and good buttresses; there was also an E. window, which Aubrey[1] says contained "northerne coates," as well as an *Orate* for Sir Thos. Pope:

"Md that the windowes here were very good Gothique painting like those of New College, and I think better, in every columne a figure, *e.g.*, St. Cuthbert, St. Leonard, St. Oswald, I have forgott the rest. 'Tis pitty they should be lost. I have a note of all the scutcheons in glass about the

[1] See Clark's Aubrey, ii. 23, and Clark's Wood's Oxford, ii. 274.

house. 'Twas a pitty Dr. Bathurst tooke the old painted glass out of the library. . . . . The glasse of these windows in the time of presbytery government were taken downe and now is there only plaine glasse."

This chapel was dedicated in 1409, and the altars in 1414 and 1417; on the screen under the organ was a distich dated 1418:

> "Terras Cuthberti qui non spoliare verentur
> Esse queant certi quod morte mala morientur."

Of the altars Aubrey records that

"In August [Sept.] 1642, the lord viscount Say and Seale came (by order of the Parliament) to visit the Colleges to see what of new Popery they could discover in the chapells. In our chapell, on the back side of the skreen had been two altars (of painting well enough for those times, and the colours were admirably fresh and lively). That on the right hand as you enter the chapell was dedicated to St. Katharine, that on the left was of the taking of our Saviour off from the crosse. My lord Say sawe that this was donne of old time, and Dr. Kettle told his lordship, 'Truly, my Lord, we regard them no more then a dirty dish-clout'; so they remained untoucht till Harris's time, and then were coloured over with green."

On the W. side of the entrance a stair led up to two large rooms, one over the passage, afterwards adopted as the *gazophylacium* of Trinity College, the other the present Common Room,

"a chamber westward in lenght xxxvj fote and in bredethe xvj fote and at the west end of the same chamb^{r} ij studies in lenght viij fote apece and eight fote in bredethe."

Under this was a "lowe chamber" of exactly the same dimensions, entered as now from the quadrangle, which was made into a Common Room c. 1665, and afterwards became the Old Bursary. These two rooms were probably the oldest chambers, which, it must be remembered, were at once living and sleeping rooms, usually for two or three students, the *musaea* or studies being small spaces partitioned off from the main apartment for privacy and warmth. The windows are clearly shown in Loggan and appear to be earlier in style than the large square-headed windows with a single mullion crossed by a transom which appear in all parts of the buildings, and still exist on the E. side of the library. The upper room had a large window in the eastern gable, which now contains miscellaneous scraps of stained glass and the name of Warden Wm. Ebchester in the upper lights; there are remains of a similar window in the western wall.

Northward from this range stood the Refectory: it collapsed when Kettell tried to dig cellars under it in 1618, and was replaced by the present Hall, which occupies exactly the same space. That it was warmed by a hearth in the middle, with a louvre over it, is the one fact which can be ascertained from the rough drawing by Bereblock in the MS. presented to Queen Elizabeth in 1566. From the north side of the Hall-passage projected a long Buttery, of which about half was destroyed in 1678, and "a nother inward Buttrey," which may have been the "*Thesaurarium*" mentioned in the inventories. Over these was a large chamber, which can still be traced, though it is now sub-divided. The original kitchen and larder were of small dimensions,

and appear to have been on the site of the present coal house; to the south of them, between the Hall and the Balliol boundary, was a court 138ft. by 30, afterwards divided into a wood-yard and a "Plumpe-yard," as shown by Loggan, now covered by the Kitchen, Lecture-room, and Common-room stores.

The N. side of the small quadrangle, probably erected between 1409 and 1414, appears in Loggan, and the north elevation of it in Williams; it was pulled down about 1728. It is not fully described in the Survey; but it is clear that the room next to the Hall door was a *perloquitorium* or parlour, which corresponded to the *Calefactorium* or *Pisalis* usually provided in a Benedictine Monastery as a Common-room where the monks might occasionally warm themselves and gossip. In 1428 it contained a chair for the warden, a "langsetyll" and a form for the fellows, eight cushions, *scabella* (stools) and *skeppis* (hassocks), andirons and bellows; the windows retained many coats of arms in the 17th century. Over it was the warden's chamber, 40ft. by 18, with a chimney and two studies; Loggan indicates a newel staircase in the angle, by which, as elsewhere, the warden would have direct access to the Hall. In 1456 this *Camera Custodis* contained

'In primis duo lecti lignei. Item ij silura (*canopies*) cum vj rydellis (*curtains*). Item una cathedra. Item unum longum sedile. Item ij copbordys. Item una formula. Item ij Andyryns. Item unum vertibulum (*poker*). Item unum peell (*? firepan*) de ferro. Item una mensa. Item unum par tristyllarum (*trestles*). Item in Studio Custodis una cista. Item unum pressore pro pannis. Item iiij panni de sago (*say*) ex dono mag. Johannis Burnby pendentes

circa cameram. Item alij duo panni de sago ex dono eiusdem. Item iij alij panni blodij ex dono eiusdem. Item unus bonus lectus cum tapete cum stella et nominibus Jesu Christi intextis. Item una peluis de stanno cum lauacro de auricalco. Item vj culcidre [*cushions*] de blodio sago. Item j gret meell [*great mallet*]. Item una mappa cum ij manutergijs ex dono mag. Johannis Burnby. Item unum manutergium pro pane deferendo."

The other rooms in this range are not described; in 1428 the *pueri* or scholars had three rooms containing "v lecti lignei cum pressuris."

The E. side of the quadrangle (1417-21), which became the President's lodgings, in spite of internal alterations at different dates, the insertion of "cock-lofts" in the roof, and the absurd "restoration" of the pointed lights in the first-floor windows, is in all essentials unaltered. In the garden front large sash windows have replaced some of the original mullions; but the library windows are untouched, and the heads of three other windows retain vestiges of old work. The projecting staircases are later. In the north and south gables are long windows, the one square-headed and now blocked up, the other (seen in Loggan) with a pointed arch and almost Decorated in character. At the north end was

"a fayr chamber bynethe cont. in lenght xxvij fote and in Bredethe xviij fote with ij studies and twoo Woodhouses. Item over that a Chamber seeled, with a studie, of the same lenght and bredethe, and a large woodhouse."

These rooms became first the study and dining-room of the President, afterwards the dining and

drawing-rooms, and since 1887 have been occupied by fellows. Next to them southward were two similar chambers, now curtailed by a staircase; the low archway in the middle is that of the staircase which originally gave access on the first floor to the Library on the south, and on the north to the President's lodgings by a small wooden doorway reopened in 1888. Under the Library were the Vestry and a room long used as the Bursary of Trinity College; the modern ceiling conceals remains of a running vine pattern painted on the joists and boards of the library floor. The "fayre Library, well desked and well flowred withe a Tymber Flowre over it," cost £42 in 1417, the fittings were added for £6 16*s.* 8*d.* in 1431, the windows gradually glassed, and the books chained as they were added; but nothing survived the Dissolution except the bare fabric and the beautiful and interesting 15th century figures, mostly of bishops, which seem to have been pieced together in 1765, with additions from other parts of the College. The herald's visitation of Oxfordshire by R. Lee, Portcullis, in 1574, records many shields that had disappeared when Aubrey and Wood made their notes. When the former came to Oxford in 1642

> "crucifixes were common in the glasse windowes in the studies; and in the chamber windowes were canonized saints (*e.g.*, in my chamber window, St. Gregorie the great, and another, broken), and scutcheons with the pillar, the whip, the dice, and the cock. But after 1647 they were all broken—'downe went Dagon!'"

The effigies have suffered much from wanton damage and from injudicious insertion of modern work which is

From a photograph by the] [*Oxford Camera Club*

LIBRARY AND OLD PRESIDENT'S LODGINGS

already fading; they were carefully reset in 1878 by President Wayte, and the names have been substituted conjecturally for the texts recorded in 1765. Few, however, of the saints can be identified with certainty except the cracked figure of Becket with the fragment of Fitzurse's dagger sticking in the forehead; the King and Queen are presumably Edward III. and Philippa; and of the little "black monks," some in amices, who kneel at the feet of their patrons, one is still labelled "Johes Tokot." The coats of arms in the side windows are those of Mortimer, Echingham, Percy quartering Lucy, and Grey impaling Brotherton. The south window contains good fragments with some much later glass, such as the shield of Henry Compton, Bishop of London; but only the arms of Hatfield or Durham College, of the University and of a Duke of York are in their original places.

Besides the pieces of garden-ground to the S. of the College, there were narrow "gardynes adjoining to the Quadrantt" on the north and east: the latter is now the President's garden. One of these may have been the *pomarium*, which is mentioned in the accounts. Beyond the College lay the bulk of the land so prudently acquired in the 13th century, consisting of a large park, called the "Grove" or "Backside," containing

"trees great and small by Estimacion iij M^{l} valued bi estimacion to the Valo^{r} of vij li."

The dimensions of this L-shaped tract were 555 ft. on the N. side, and 492 ft. on the E. along Beaumont (Park Street), by 136 ft. on the South, and 60 + 360

on the West. It must therefore have included the site of the second quadrangle of St. John's, which was leased for *3s. 4d.* a year to the Cistercians of St. Bernard's College, and rather more than half the St. John's garden. The Survey, which included Bernard College, states that "the Grove standyth commodyously for both the Coleges"; and this may be an anticipation of the inclusion in 1546 of a moiety of the land in the grant to the Dean and Chapter of Christchurch, by whom it was sold to Sir Thos. White. Fortunately both Colleges have shown themselves extremely unwilling to encroach on this ground even for the extension of their own buildings; and the two gardens, together with those of Wadham, still testify to the love of mediæval monks and friars for secluded and spacious demesnes.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDER

THE Founder of Trinity College may be best described as an able and useful Civil Servant, one of those responsible officials who, even in troubled times when public life has been most corrupt and public men most unscrupulous, have done much to steady the course of administrative government in England. He was, like many Tudor Statesmen, a "novus homo"; and with more ambition might have risen high in the favour of either Mary or Elizabeth, since he was trusted by both sisters. While personally attached to the older ideas in religion, he was prepared to accept loyally such measures of reform as were demanded by the national conscience. Of his efficiency in office there is abundant evidence in the frequency with which his contemporaries confide in the dispatch and industry of "good Mr. Pope." Of his private opinions there is no direct record; "quod tacitum velis nemini dixeris."[1] His

[1] A distinguished ex-scholar of Trinity, Mr. J. S. Cotton, has kindly given me a reference to the "Dicta Catonis, quae vulgo inscribuntur Disticha Catonis de Moribus" of Gergza Némethy (Buda Pest, 1895) in which to illustrate Distich 10, "Quod tacitum esse velis . . . dicere noli," he quotes from the spurious "Sententiæ" of Publilius Syrus, "quod tacitum esse vis, nemini dixeris," and from the spurious "Proverbia Senecæ" a still closer parallel, "quod tacitum velis esse nemini dixeris."

statutes and letters testify, as will appear, not only to his good sense, fairness of temper, and genuine desire to promote education, but to a simple and unaffected devotion to the essential principles of religion. His generosity was that of a man who is determined not to let his bounty be wasted; but it is always marked by tact and taste, and needs not to be exaggerated by fictions.

THOMAS POPE was the elder son of William Pope, a yeoman farmer of Deddington in north Oxfordshire, by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Edmund Yates of Standlake near Witney. He was born c. 1507, as he was about 16 at his father's death on 16 March 1523. Thomas inherited £100 and half the land, which was valued at £6 per annum, the other half going to the widow, probably for the benefit of a younger son John, who is not mentioned in the will, and may have been a postumous child. The three daughters were to receive £40 each; and legacies of 3*s.* 4*d.* were given to "the torchis, the bellis, our ladie beame, saint Thomas beame," in Deddington Church, to the mother-church of Lincoln, and "to everie Godchilde a schepe." The boy was educated at Banbury under Thomas Stanbridge of Magdalen, whose brother John wrote the famous Stanbridge grammar, and subsequently at Eton;[1] he was articled to Richard Croke, comptroller of the Hanaper,[2] and by 1532 had been made one of the

[1] "Ex Scholis Etonensi vel Banburiensi, in quibus ipse olim in grammaticae rudimentis educatus eram." Trin. Coll. Statt. c. viii.

[2] He left to his "old master's son, Master Croke," the gown of black satin, faced with "Lucern-spots," in which he was painted. Lucern is a kind of fur.

lower officials in the Court of Chancery. In 1535 he was living in the house of Lord Chancellor Audley as his "servant" or clerk, and in 1544 was one of his executors and residuary legatees, and conveyed the great seal from him to Wriothesley. He was also intimate with Audley's great predecessor in the Chancellorship, Sir Thomas More; and on 5 July 1535, visited him in the Tower with the sad news that he was to be executed next morning. More entreated him to be a means to his Majesty that his daughter "Margaret [Roper] might be present at his burial," and took leave of him cheerfully, with the words

"Quiet yourself, good Mr. Pope, and be not discomforted; for I trust that we shall one day in heaven see each other full merrily, where we shall be sure to live and love together in joyful bliss eternally;"

adding the characteristic jest, as a physician diagnosing the condition of a patient, that "this man might have lived longer if it had pleased the King."[1] Pope's first office was that of Clerk of Briefs in the Star Chamber, which he received in Oct. 1532, with a reversionary grant of the lucrative Clerkship of the Crown in Chancery, which fell to him in 1537. He was Keeper of Change and Money in the Tower of London 1534–6. From 1534 he had corresponded, at first patronisingly, but soon with growing deference, with the all-powerful minister Thomas Cromwell: in 1538 however they were on the verge of a quarrel over the purchase of the manor of Drayton-Basset from Sir J. Dudley. In 1536, on the suppression of the smaller religious houses, a

[1] Mori Exitus, J. H[oddesdon], London 1652, p. 127.

court was created to deal with the "Augmentation of the King's Revenue," and Sir Thomas Pope became Treasurer, his duties being to receive the proceeds of sales, etc., from the 17 Receivers, and to account for them to the Chancellor, Sir Richard (Lord) Rich, and the 10 Auditors. The office was well paid and dignified; many of Pope's accounts are preserved among the public records, and he retained the post till 1541, when he was succeeded by Sir Edward (Lord) North, in whose family his own was merged more than a century later. On the reconstitution of the Court in 1547 he was made Master of Woods and Forests South of the Trent. He was therefore recognised as a rising man: on 26 June 1535 he had obtained a grant of the arms still borne by his College (*Party per pale, gold and azure, a chevron thereon 4 fleur-de-luces, between 3 griffons heddes rasyd counterchangyd on the fielde. Upon his Crest, 2 dragons heddes indorsant, rasyd, a crownette abowte their necks langued counterchaunged, set on a wrethe gold & vert, the mantlets gules doubled silver botoned gold*); and on 18 Oct. 1537 he was knighted at the creation of the Earl of Hertford, with Sir Hugh Poulet, the Earl of Surrey, and many others. He was soon afterwards sworn of the Privy Council, being employed on business of importance from 1541 onwards.

Sir Thomas Pope, though not, as Fuller supposes, a "principall visitor" of the monasteries,[1] did personally

[1] There is no evidence for Warton's statement that he preserved the abbey church of St. Albans, there, or that he assisted the last abbess of Godstow, though "Juliana Pope," who was a nun there at the Dissolution, was not improbably his sister.

receive the surrender of St. Albans from Abbot Stevenache on 5 Dec. 1539. But from 1537 onwards he acquired by grant or purchase from the Crown a vast estate composed of abbey lands, manors, and advowsons, which had passed through his office. Though there is no reason to doubt his "candid carriage" in these acquisitions, it is not improbable that there is some truth in the tradition recorded by Aubrey, that he

> "bought church lands without money. His way was this. He contracted, and then presently sold long leases, for which he had great fines and but a small rent. These leases were out in the reigne of King James the first, and then the estate was worth 8000 pounds per annum. He could have rode in his owne lands from Cogges (by Witney) to Banbury, about 18 miles."

The meaning is that he managed by means of a large fine taken at once to raise sufficient to purchase the fee-simple of these abbey lands. It is certain that all those which he conveyed to his College had been first granted on very long leases, mostly to his relations, and the plan was one which did not work badly in the case of a corporation. Among his first acquisitions were the site and demesnes of Wroxton Priory, near Banbury, not far from his old home, with Holcombe, a grange of Dorchester Priory, and other estates belonging to the smaller Oxfordshire houses of Wroxton, Bicester, Bruern, Chacombe, and Rewley. To these he gradually added other large slices of the county, in the parishes of Goring, Enstone, Bradwell, Filkins, Wilcote, North Leigh, Broughton Pogis, Cogges, Swerford, Wigginton, Tadmarton, Hooknorton, Kencot, Wolleston, and Ardley.

Outside Oxfordshire his principal possessions were the manors of Bermondsey and Deptford-Stroud; his ordinary residences were Tyttenhanger in Hertfordshire, once the country house of the Abbots of St. Albans, and the old nunnery of Clerkenwell. In 1555 he enumerates 27 manors as then in his possession, and in 1556 a clause in his statutes speaks of property in 35 parishes or townships.

Under Edward VI. Pope's name hardly occurs at all; but he became "a great man with Queen Mary" (Strype), was recalled to the Privy Council, acted on several important commissions, and was associated with Bonner, Thirlby, North, and others on a heresy committee in Feb. 1557. He was one of the company on the leads of the White Tower when Wyat and the rebel leaders were brought in, one of whom, Alexander Bret, it is said that Sir Thomas

"toke by the bosom sayinge, Oh Traytor! how couldst thou finde in thine heart to worke such vyllany,"[1] etc. etc.

But the clearest proof that he was trusted by Mary was his selection 8 July 1556 to reside as guardian in the house of her sister and prisoner Elizabeth. It is possible that he was at Ashridge when she was confined there in 1554, if a letter from "the Lady Elizabeth's officers to the Queen's Counsail" is in his handwriting.[2] He was certainly at Hatfield in Aug. 1556, and remained there long enough to gain the confidence of the princess, to whom he was afterwards sent on 26 Apr. 1558, to ascertain her sentiments as to the offer of

[1] Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 51–2; Stowe, p. 621.
[2] Cotton MSS.; printed by Burnet, Strype and Warton.

marriage from Eric, King of Sweden. But there is not a particle of evidence or even probability for the detailed narratives of festivities in her honour which appear in Warton's Life, pp. 86–92, on the pretended authority of non-existent transcripts[1] made by Wise from imaginary extracts made for Charlett by Strype, before the fire of 1709, from the valuable Cottonian MS., known as "Machyn's Diary" since its publication by the Camden Society in 1848.

There is no evidence for a note in some genealogical memoranda that Pope was first married to one Elizabeth Gunston, and divorced from her 11 July 1536 by Richard Gwent, Dean of Arches; but, he himself recorded in a Breviary (MSS. Aubrey 31) once the property of William Appulby, perhaps the warden of Durham College, his marriage on 17 July 1536 to

[1] I have discussed this unpleasant subject in an elaborate article in the Engl. Hist. Review for April 1896, and will only say here, (1) that these narratives are not now and never were to be found in the charred MS. of Machyn, that they were not known to Strype, that they are all improbable and some demonstrably false, and that they were published at intervals and with different explanations; (2) that Warton rather than Wise, who died before Warton's Life appeared in 1772, must be considered the fabricator of them, partly from his misstatements about the condition of the MS., partly from the suppression of this part of his (or Wise's) notes, partly from his habit of referring in detail to books which do not bear out his statements, and partly because there is grave reason to suspect him of similar fabrications of passages alleged to be extracted from letters or documents in the possession of the College, one at least of which contains a slight but certain anachronism. In fact all the statements which Warton makes on his own authority or on that of "MSS. F. Wise," or "the late Sir Harry Pope Blount," must be discredited, except in a very few cases where there is extant corroboration. Ritson charged him with similar inventions in his History of English Poetry.

Margaret (Townsend), widow of Sir Ralph Dodmer, Mercer and Lord Mayor of London 1529; also the birth on 15 April 1537, of their daughter Alice, and the death of his wife on 16 January 1539, "which he taketh heavily." With her he buried in St. Stephen's Walbrook his child and his sister-in-law, Anne Pope, and by her side he desired to be laid himself. His third wife (1 Jan. 1541) was a lady of good family, Elizabeth, daughter of Walter Blount of Osbaston (by Mary, daughter of John Sutton) and widow of Anthony Basford (or Beresford), of Bentley in Derbyshire, who left her in 1538 with a young son, John Basford, to whom and to some young Dodmers,[1] Pope acted most generously as a stepfather. The Founder's letters give a few glimpses of their life at Tyttenhanger and Clerkenwell, where he kept a large household. In 1557 he writes to President Slythurst to recommend him

"a poor boy of some honest kynred that can wright well; I woold have hym to attende uppon my wife, and to wright for wheages. I woll if he be diligent do for hym so as he shall see cause to think his service well employd. I wold be glad also if ye cold help me to a sober felow to be my Stuarde, and, if it was possible, I wold be glad to have a priest; if nott, I wold have hym unmarryed. I woll gyve hym honest wages. I wold have no man but

[1] For John Basford see below; in his will, Pope mentions Margaret's "womanlie behavior, treweth, and honestie," begs his executors "to help to sett forward" her 4 children, Ralph, John, Ann, and Mary, "which be fryndles," and leaves John "50 aungels to make him a chain, and his mother's pickture, and the bracelett of gold I ware about my arme, and the ring of gold hanging at the same; which bracelett was the first tokyn that ever his mother gave me."

one that wold rule the lest of my servants. . . . . My wife for want of such a man is so much trobled as I am sorry to see her . . . . seeing my house is for lack of a good Stuard so farr out of order as I had nede of a verye skilful man to bring it in form again."

He was on intimate terms with some of the great churchmen of his time, especially Cardinal Pole,[1] who promised to help him in settling the advowson of Garsington on the College, Bishop Thirlby of Ely, and Bishop White of Winchester: and among the friends who received plate or rings in his will were Sir Nich. Bacon,[2] Sir Edw. Waldegrave, Sir Richd. and Sir Robt. Southwell, Sir Wm. Cordall, Master of the Rolls; whom he desires

"not to waye my simple gifts any other than as a remembrance of my unfayned good will and disposition towards theym in my lyfe tyme."

He provided for swarms of poor relations, and besides munificent gifts to his College, bequeathed large sums to churches, charities, prisoners and hospitals.

It is probable that Sir Thomas Pope was one of the victims of the epidemic quartan-fever which made special havoc among the upper classes in the autumn of 1558, since on 12 Dec. he executed an elaborate codicil to his will of Feb. 1557, and on 24 Dec. founded an

[1] Pole's advice about the study of Greek (Warton, p. 236) from a letter "to the president, dat. Hatfield, 1556" is probably as fictitious as a similar reference to Elizabeth's interest in the Statutes (p. 92). Warton says that the College possessed 14 autograph letters from the Founder; and there are 14 and no more.

[2] "To my most trewe and assured frynde, my whistill made like a dragon sett w^{t} stones wch I comonly ware"; it is more like a mermaid in the pictures.

obit[1] with Dirge and Mass for his soul on Jesus Day (7 Aug.) in the church of Much Waltham in Essex. His death took place on 29 Jan. 1559. His body lay under a hearse at Clerkenwell for a week, and was then conveyed to the vault in St. Stephen's Walbrook, where he had erected a monument to himself and his wife Margaret, which Stowe saw before it perished in the Great Fire. Machyn, who perhaps furnished the funeral, records[2] that

"the vj day of Feybruary went to the chyrche to be bered Sir Thomas Pope knyght, with a standard and cott, pennon of armes a targett elmet and sword, and a ij dosen of armes, and xij for the branchys, and vj for the [body ?] of bokeram; and ij haroldes of armes, Master Clarenshus and Master Yorke; Master Clarenshus bare the cott, and Master Yorke bare the helmett and crest. And he gayff xl mantyll frys gownes, xx men and xx women; and xx men bare torchys and the women ij and ij together with rayles. And ij grett whyt branchys and iiij branchys tapurs of wax, garnyshed with armes and with iiij dosen pennons. And Ser Recherd Sowthwell knyght and Ser Thomas Stradlyng and dyver odur morners in blake to the nomber of lx and mo in blake. And all the howsse and chyrche with blake and armes: and after to the plasse to drynke with spysse bred and wyne. And the morow masse iij songe, with ij pryke songe and the iij of requiem, with the clarkes of London. And after he was bered. And that done, to the playsse to dener; for ther was a grett dener, and plente of all thynges, and a grett dolle of money."

[1] This must have been one of the last obits founded in England. The endowment was a pension of 26*s.* 8*d.* on the vicarage, which was quietly re-absorbed in the small tithes.

[2] Diary of Henry Machyn, Camden Society, 1848, p. 188.

Reproduced from engraving] *[by F. Skelton*

THE FOUNDER'S TOMB

Before 1567 Lady Pope removed the coffins to a new vault on the north side of the altar in the old chapel of the college, over which she erected a beautiful semi-Gothic alabaster monument, the only "founder's tomb" in Oxford. It was originally enclosed by an iron grate, but is now concealed, though preserved, by an oak and cedar panelled "alcove," with sash windows to harmonise with the fittings of the present Palladian edifice. On the tomb is the effigy of the Founder in full armour with that of "the lady Elizabeth his wife," and on the south face are wreathed shields with their armorial bearings. Wood mentions that he saw their coffins when the vault was opened in 1691, during the demolition of the old chapel.

The numerous portraits of the Founder at Oxford are probably all derived from the fine painting (a half-length) which remained with his widow at Tyttenhanger; that at Wroxton Abbey, which differs in a few details, has also claims to be an original. This was engraved in line by J. Skelton in 1821; the mezzotint of 1712, by T. Faber, republished by H. Parker, is from the older of the two copies on board in the President's Lodgings, and of the other there is a small scarce mezzotint by W. Robins. Later copies are to be seen in the Hall, Common Room, Bodleian Gallery, and at some of the College livings. The effigy over the Hall door, presented by the Rev. Edward Bathurst in 1665, is adapted from this picture. The Founder is portrayed as a man of between 30 and 40 (under 36, if the original is by Holbein, who died in 1543); the face is wanting in expression, but not unpleasing. He wears a black satin gown with an edging of a whitish fur with black spots;

the armholes, also edged with fur, are in the upper part of the long sleeves. The undercoat of black velvet is open at the throat, with three strings on each side hanging loose, and confined at the waist by a black silk sash. He has 3 Holbein rings, 2 with sapphires and 1 with a ruby, and a wedding ring on the little finger of the right hand. All the portraits except the one at Wroxton show a heavy gold chain round the neck with a pendant, usually the mermaid whistle.

There is also in the College Hall a fine old portrait on board of Lady Pope, handsome and dignified, though rather hard-featured, attired in black velvet with red sleeves, and lavishly adorned with pearls: a smaller picture at Tyttenhanger shows her as a widow in a black hood and mantle. Sir Thomas, who bears testimony in his will to his desire

"to recompens her most honest obedient and womanly behaviour towards me in my life time, which hath byn such as well hath meryted a thowsand tymes more than I am able any waye to give her,"

associated her name with his in most of his later grants and settlements, and carefully assigned to her the rights and duties of Foundress of the College, with a power of nomination to vacant scholarships, etc., which she frequently employed, in one case after an appeal to the Visitor. Her signature is affixed with his to the statutes; she loyally observed his wishes with reference to the completion of buildings at Oxford and Garsington, and was constantly consulted by the President; the College often sent her complimentary presents of gloves, and entertained her handsomely in 1565. In

1559 Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, wished to obtain her hand, but she bestowed it in 1560 on a contemporary of her late husband, a distinguished soldier, Sir Hugh Poulet of Hinton St. George, Captain of Jersey, and Vice-President of the Welsh Marches, with whom she lived quietly till his death in 1572. Sir Hugh was a strong Protestant, and had assisted Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, in the expedition to Havre in 1562–3; but his widow was informed against for recusancy in 1578 and 1585, and was certainly a concealed Romanist. In 1592 she endowed an almshouse at her native town of Burton-on-Trent, with a benefaction for the headmaster and the usher of the Grammar School, by a rent-charge of £15 on property at Clerkenwell and land at Bentley; this has been administered since 1884 by the 17 Burton Charity Trustees. She died at Tyttenhanger 27 Oct. 1593, and after lying in state at St. Mary's, was buried in the vault in Trinity Chapel, where her son John Basford had joined his stepfather in 1567. Among the remembrances in her will she leaves to Lord Burleigh

"a ring of gold garnished with a diamond, pointed upwards and downwards, which was sometime the ring of lord keeper Sir Nich. Bacon, and by him sold to Sir Arthur Darcy, who sold the same to Sir Thomas Pope for 100 li."

It is a noticeable proof of Sir Thomas Pope's good sense (and also of his great wealth) that he did not saddle his College with any of the usual claims of "founder's kin," beyond expressing a desire, loyally observed by the College, that if it were not practicable to renew the leases of the properties in favour of the

existing tenants, a preference should be given to "sanguine meo oriundis, si qui tales vere esse cogniti id opportune ambierint." Among the first scholars was a favourite nephew, Edmund Hutchins, to whom Pope left an estate at Dumbleton, which in 1602 Edmund bequeathed ineffectively to the College.[1] But he felt uneasy as to the appointment of Walter Blount to a scholarship:

"when my Wiff's Brother is ons placed, I woll for no man's sute the statutes of my College be broken, but that the eleccion shall alwaies be uppon Trynytie Sunday" (27 Nov. 1556). "I am content to dispens w^{t} my Wiff's Brother for his Scolers Rome wch I do the rather for that I beleve he ment to lefe his Rome by his absens. I wold he shold be broken of some part of his witt, assuring you from hensforth I will for no mans pleasur living breke my statutes nether in that nor in eny other poynt. For when I shall goo aboute to breke my Estatutes in my own tyme, how may I hope to have theym kept after I am gon." (1557.)

In dealing with his stepson, John Basford, whom he entrusted in 1557 to the tuition of Arthur Yeldard, afterwards President, he showed himself at once affectionate and, when the young man proved troublesome to the College, severe.

"I have written to Mr. Basford trusting he will be ordered accordingly. I pray you spek w^{t} Mr. Rudde to tech hym & to rede him Erasmus Pistels and Tullys Pistels which he shall lern to translate well; and I requier

[1] There is an inscription on the S. wall of the Old Bursary, apparently copied from an older carving on a buttress; "IHS HAVE M[ERCY] O[N] E. HUTCHINS A D 1558."

yow to say to Master Basford that I have willed you to commande all the Felowes and Scolers of the College, as they woll have my good will and avoid the contrary, that they spek not any word of English to hym" (24 July 1557.) "I besech you se that Mr. Basford and Mr. Huchyns applye their studye and ye may tell Mr. Basford that when ye shall advertise me he understandeth the latten tonge, I woll send for him home and prefer him furder in such place where he shall I doubt not well like his beinge." (1557.)

But on Whit Monday 1558 Pope writes:

"Sir, my wif is wonderfully offendyd w^{t} Mr. Basford's sute to come home, and thinketh if ther were nothing to move hym to remayn in the College but her desier to have hym ther for a while [it] shold be suffycyen. Wherefore I requier yow lett hym content hym selfe for a while; itt shall not be long; and he mye use some recreacion as to ryde to my Frendes & Tenantes and make myrry ther for ij or iij dyes. Her desier & myne also is he shold have the latten tong wch in a year w^{t} dilligence wolbe gotten. I pray yow use some perswasion to him to folow his mothers desier & lett hym w^{t}all understand what a great offence it is not to obeye his mother both to God & to the world. Ye may tell him for his mothers sake I entend to be good to hym & so dele w^{t} hym as few father in lawes ever do w^{t} ther Wiffes sones; and he shall gyve me cause to think my benefites well imployed, if he shall oblige that his mother orders. If he will be content to waight uppon Sr Richard Sowthwell in his chamber, and to lern ther among his Children the Laten tong, the French tong, & to plye at wepons, ye maye saye I woll send for him home. His mother will in no wyse have hym in the house, for that she fereth he may be entised to folye by my servants. If he

lak any thing he shall have itt: I wold I might be in his place for this xij moneth; and soe I pray yow tell hym."

The boy continued to ask to come home and further offended his mother by refusing to lend his uncle (? Walter Blount) his horse, and declining to go to Sir R. Southwell's, or "to my L. Cardynall's Grace, that he might attend upon his Grace"; so he is to be told (9 June 1558) that

"if he hath that grace & honesty w^{t} hym that I beleve he hath, it wold greve him nott a litell to see his mother so trobled & unquyett as she is at this present . . . as she refused to rede his letters sent to me this wyk & so dyd she his former letters when he excused hym selfe towchinge the lone of his Horse to his Unkell. . . . I besech yow advise hym in what form he shall write. I beleve he had nede to sett upp all his Wytts ere he shall satisfye her. And if he endevor nott hymself by all the ways & means he can to do what may content her, he is not worthy to lyve, & so I requier yow tell hym from me, & that for her displeas^{r} he cannott have my good will wch is I think worth the having."

Apparently he behaved better, as Pope left him the reversion of the valuable estates settled on his mother, with special legacies of his "harneys and artillerie," and his best gauntlets and shield, and "the best gelding he can choyse in my stable."

In 1551 the Founder had granted his brother John Pope a 99 years lease of Wroxton and Balscote, the most important of the estates which he selected for the endowment of Trinity College: the fortunes of his descendants have consequently been so closely connected

with those of the College that it seems suitable here, at the risk of some anticipation, to bring together a few names which illustrate this family connexion. On John Pope and his posterity in strict entail,[1] which was interfered with by private Acts in 1598, 1651 and 1670, was settled the great estate in N. and W. Oxfordshire. He was often entertained by the College with wine and dessert[2] on his visits to Oxford. His sons, George and William Pope, matriculated as Commoners in1587 and 1589. The latter, who became his heir, was made a Knight of the Bath in 1603, a baronet in 1611, and an Irish peer as Baron Belturbet and Earl of Downe in 1628. He built a fine manor house at Cogges near Witney as well as the beautiful mansion on the site of the Abbey at Wroxton; and entertained James I. on a progress, on which occasion an infant daughter was presented to the King with a copy of verses, possibly the work of the witty Richard Corbet, afterwards Bishop of Norwich:—

"See this little mistress here,
Did never sit in Peter's chaire,
Or a triple crowne did weare;
And yet she is a Pope.
No benefice she ever sold,
Nor did dispense with sins for gold;
She hardly is a sev'nnight old,
And yet she is a Pope.

[1] It is provided in this settlement that if the heirs of Sir Thomas Pope in any way molest the College, their interest shall cease and pass to the Mayor Commons and Citizens of London for the benefit of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

[2] *E.g.*, Computus 1562–3; Sol. ex cerasis fragis vino potu et saccaro datis Magistro Pope et uxori ejus visentibus collegium, iijs. xd.

No King her feet did ever kisse,
Or had from her worse look than this:
Nor did she ever hope,
To saint one with a rope;
And yet she is a Pope.
A female Pope you'll say, a second Joan,
No, sure she is Pope Innocent or none."

The first Earl of Downe died 1631 leaving Trinity £100. He had sent to the College in 1602 his two stepsons, aged 11 and 8, Thomas Lord Wentworth of Nettlestead, afterwards the Cavalier Earl of Cleveland, and his brother Henry Wentworth. One of his sisters, Jane Pope, married Francis Combe of Hemel Hempstead, and their son Francis Combe left in 1641 a large number of books to the Library, and the valuable manor of Abbots Langley in joint trust to this College and Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Another married Daniel Danvers of Culworth, and her grandson, Daniel Danvers, D.M., was made Fellow of the College in 1651, and sent up his son Knightley in 1685. An Anne Pope, daughter of Sir William Pope of Cogges, married Sir Samuel Danvers of Culworth, and her son Sir Pope Danvers, and his son after him, were members of the College. The second Earl of Downe, grandson of the first, was at Christ Church; but his heiress, Lady Elizabeth, wife of Sir Francis Henry Lee of Ditchley, to whom she carried what the Civil War had left of the great Pope estates, sent to Trinity her own son Francis Henry Lee, and afterwards Philip Bertie, the son of her second husband, Robert Earl of Lindsey. Of the Dillons, who now represent the Lees of Ditchley (Earls of Lichfield), the 16th Viscount was a member of the College, and his

son, the present Lord Dillon, who appears to be the most direct representative of the Founder, was placed on the books on receiving an honorary degree from the University.

The Wroxton lease, however, was inherited by, and renewed to, the first Earl's second son, Sir Thomas Pope, who suffered severely from both sides in the Civil War, his house lying midway between the opposing garrisons at Banbury, Broughton Castle, and Compton Winyates. He succeeded his nephew as third Earl of Downe. By his wife, Beata Poole, granddaughter of a Trinity man, Sir Henry Poole, of Saperton (Commoner 1579), M.P. for Cricklade, Wiltshire, Malmesbury, and Oxford, he had two sons, both of whom he sent to Trinity, Thomas, fourth and last Earl of Downe, and Henry Pope, who died at Oxford. On the extinction of the male line the estates of the Wroxton branch were claimed by Lady Elizabeth Lee, but were secured for the last Earl's sisters by a clever young lawyer, Francis North (a descendant of the Founder's friend, Sir Edward North), who soon afterwards married one of them, Lady Frances Pope, and rose to be Lord Keeper, with the title of Baron Guilford. He bought out the other co-heiresses, and settled at Wroxton, the lease of which has been continuously enjoyed by his direct descendants, though the title has changed again, the ancient barony of North of Kirtling having fallen to the Keeper's grandson, then been merged in the higher title of Earl of Guilford, and finally called out of abeyance in the person of the late Baroness North, a granddaughter of the Prime Minister; while the earldom passed to the son of his half-brother, Brownlow North,

Bishop of Winchester. From this family, Francis, 2nd Lord Guilford, matriculated at Trinity in 1689: his son, Francis, 3rd Lord Guilford, 7th Lord North, and 1st Earl of Guilford, in 1721; his son, Frederick, 2nd Earl of Guilford (better known as Lord North), in 1749, with his half-brother, Brownlow, in 1760; and his son, George Augustus, 3rd Earl of Guilford, in 1774; besides other descendants and members of families connected with the Popes by marriage, such as the Raynsfords, Sacheverells, and Greenhills. It is singular but fitting that the splendid collection of portraits at Wroxton Abbey and the stately monuments in the chancel of the parish church, till lately hung with a unique display of funeral arms and pennons, should preserve Sir Thomas Pope's memory as founder of a noble family most vividly in the place where he intended to be remembered primarily as the Founder of a College.

A similar connexion between the Foundress's family and the College is shown by the matriculation there of her new husband's eldest grandson, Hugh Poulet, in 1572, of another grandson, Amias, son of Nicholas, in 1600, of Sir John Pawlett in 1595, and Sir Hector Pawlett, aged 12, in 1603, paying £3 caution-money, with his servant, John Biddlecombe, as a battellar, paying 30*s*. Sir Hugh's heir, Elizabeth's "faithfull Amyas," was entertained by the College, then in retreat at Garsington, in 1571. The estates, including Tyttenhanger, which had been settled on the Foundress and her son, passed in 1593 to her nephew Thomas, who had matriculated in 1574 as Thomas Pope Blount; his mother was a daughter of the Founder's sister, Alice Love. Another nephew, Richard Blount, was nominated to a fellowship in 1583, but

threw it up at once to become a Jesuit. Another Richard Blount, probably a cousin of the Foundress, left the College £100 to found a thirteenth scholarship, which was endowed in 1590 with the Foundress's help. In the next generation Sir Thomas Pope Blount, Bart., and his brother Sir Henry Blount, Knt., the traveller and wit, matriculated in 1615, and a more distant descendant, John Glanvill, was elected scholar in 1679. The last baronet, Sir Harry Pope Blount, came up in 1720. Tyttenhanger, which was rebuilt by Sir Henry c. 1654, was carried by one heiress to the Yorkes, Earls of Hardwicke, and thence by another to the Alexanders, Earls of Caledon, who thus represent the Foundress.

The special means by which the Founder intended to keep his memory continually before the mind of the College proved for the most part less permanent than he imagined. The Civil Wars swept away his magnificent bequest of plate and the "Mutuum Fundatoris," the housekeeping balance which he provided for the annual use of the Bursars. The obits and special forms he ordained in Statt. c. xiii. for graces and private prayers as well as the *Oratio*, *Secreta* and *Postcommunio* for insertion in the daily mass, can hardly have lasted even as long as the elaborate vestments and ornaments which he sent down for the chapel; his statutes gradually became obsolete in details, were modified by the first University Commission, and swept away by the second. But the College which he founded

"ad gloriam et honorem Altissimi Conditoris nostri, necnon ad proventum et publicam patriæ utilitatem, orthodoxæ fidei religionisque Christianæ incrementum et ad perpetuam

pauperum scholarium in Academia degentium sustentationem,"

while it serves him truly by promoting these objects in the manner best adapted to succeeding ages, still cherishes his letters and books and portraits, still at the annual Gaudy drinks in solemn silence to the "pious memory of the Founder," and still uses at regular intervals in Chapel a later but sufficiently venerable "Founder's Prayer":

"O God, the Resurrection and Life of them that put their trust in Thee, who art always to be praised as well in the Dead as in the Living, we yield Thee thanks for Sir Thomas Pope, Knight, our Founder, and the Lady Elizabeth his wife, deceased, and for all other our Benefactors, by whose Liberality we are here brought up in Godliness and Learning; beseeching Thee to give us Grace so to use their Benefits bestowed upon us, that with them we may come to the Endless Glory of Thy Resurrection; through Jesus Christ Our Lord. Amen."

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE

It is possible that the first idea of founding a college came to Sir Thomas Pope from his old patron Lord Chancellor Audley, who on 3 Apr. 1542, established Magdalene College, Cambridge, in the buildings of the dissolved house of student monks from the eastern Benedictine abbeys, known as Buckingham College. Audley left his work quite unfinished; the first statutes were given by his widow and executors, Sir Edw. North and Sir Thomas Pope, on 16 Feb. 1554. Just a year later, 20 Feb. 1555, Pope obtained from Dr. George Owen of Godstowe, and Wm. Martyn of Oxford, the site and derelict buildings of Durham College, with the half of the Grove which was not included in the grant of Bernard College to Christ Church; the vendors covenanted to charge on their own lands a quit-rent to the Crown of *26s. 2d.*[1] On 8 March 1555, he procured

[1] In 1622 the Exchequer demanded from the College some arrears of this quit-rent, and Kettell proceeded to recover the money from Chief-Baron Sir J. Walter of Godstowe and Wolvercote. Sir George Calvert, Secretary of State, an old Trinity man, assisted him, and a committee consisting of Archbishop Abbott, Williams Bp. of Lincoln, and Andrewes Bp. of Winchester decided in favour of the College. Kettell then called on Owen's representatives to pay up, "wherein you shall, as we iudge, much provide for y^r^ common quiett, and ye poor College enjoy ye freedom wch untill these later

Letters Patent from Philip and Mary to found therein a College for a President, 12 Fellows, and 8 Scholars, together with a Free School, to be called "Jhesus Scolehouse," at Hooknorton or elsewhere; and on 28 March executed a "Charter of Erection" by which he conveyed the College and its endowments to Thomas Slythurst, B.D., Vicar of Chalfont St. Peter and Canon of Windsor, as President, 8 Fellows, mostly B.A.s of Exeter[1] or Queen's, and 4 undergraduate Scholars. Slythurst gave the two senior fellows a power of attorney to take possession.

The elaboration of the scheme took a full year, and the statutes were not signed till 1 May 1556; but the revenues were handed over as from Lady Day, when the members began to reside; and during May church-plate and ornaments, books, kitchen utensils, and tablecloths, towels, etc., were sent down to the College. On the Vigil of Trinity Sunday, 30 May 1556, it was formally opened by Robert Morwent, President of Corpus, who admitted in the chapel the President, 12 fellows (the 5 new ones including Arthur Yeldard and John Perte, originally a scholar), and 7 scholars, an eighth being nominated on 3 Oct. The newly constituted body proceeded to elect the Officers and Readers, and then "vespertinas preces, cum cantu et nota, solemniter sanctissimae Trinitati ea nocte persolverunt." The next

years it had. Otherwise it will become as tedious to ye College to prosecute y^is^ right, soe burdensome to echoone of you to endure ye expenses of distraintes. Therfor not doubting of y^r^ due consideracion hereof we bid you farewell;" and the matter was eventually settled in 1631.

[1] One of these, Robert Newton, decided to remain at Exeter, of which he became second perpetual rector in 1570.

day the President celebrated mass and preached, and a banquet was given, towards which the Founder's friends and Oxfordshire relations contributed sheep, lambs, rabbits, capons, sucking pigs, goslings, and venison, while various *oppidani* gave wine and dessert. Warton prints an account of a visit from the Founder with Bishops White and Thirlby on 15 July; but, though well conceived, it contains some improbabilities, and must be considered one of his "MSS. F. Wise" fabrications.[1] It is remarkable that not one of the original fellows was qualified under the statutes; six were distinctly Northerners, four from the diocese of Exeter, one from Somerset, and one from Warwickshire. One of them, James Bell, threw up his fellowship at once, to become an ardent Protestant controversialist and admirer of John Fox, in translating whose "Pope Confuted," he celebrates his escape from

"the mismaze in which I wandered long, nooseled therein by the grayheaded of that schoole, whose countenance carried me from my Christe to the swinstie of the Sorbone, which had swalowed me up, if the Lord had not prevented me betimes."

But several retired or were ejected from their fellow-

[1] It is a picturesque narrative in Latin, alleged to be by Yeldard; the president held the founder's stirrup, the vice-president made an oration "salis longam et officii plenam," and the bursars offered "chirothecas aurifrigiatas." They surveyed the Library and Grove, and proceeded to a banquet in the Hall, which, with 12 minstrels, 4 fat does, and 8 flagons of muscadel, cost £12 14*s*. 9*d*. The president celebrated "missam vespertinam" in the best cope, and Sir Thomas offered "unam bursam plenam Angelorum" After service he gave the bursars the whole of the expenses and a silver-gilt cup from which he had drunk to the company in hypocras, and a mark each to the scholars.

ships early in the next reign for adherence to the older ways in religion.

The selection of estates for the endowment is marked by a touch of sentiment. The manors, demesnes, and lands of Wroxton and Balscote, with the two mills, "Wroccam and Ballam," were among the Founder's earliest acquisitions; they were held by John Pope on a 99 years' lease of £80 and "six goode capones." Holcombe in Drayton parish, with its manor and tithe, once a grange of Dorchester Abbey, was let for 103 years for £22 10*s.* and "one goode bore of the age of three years beinge brawne." The rectory of Bradwell, between Lechlade and Burford, once held by the Preceptory of Quenington, was farmed out to the Founder's cousin, Peter Yates, for 99 years, at a rent of £15; and the rectory of Tadmarton had paid to the Pittancer and Chamberlain of Abingdon Abbey and still pays to Trinity College a "pension" of £3 18*s.* 4*d.* A "portion" of the tithe of Stopesley near Luton, once owned by the Abbot of St. Albans, brought in £40 from the farmer, one Robert Bruce; and Sir Edward Waldegrave, who had obtained from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's the rectory of Navestock, Essex, being one of their peculiars, sold it to Sir Thomas, and received a 10 years' lease, renewed for 90 years in 1565, at a rent of £10; the advowson of the vicarage, worth £13 6*s.* 8*d.*, was included in the sale. Various quit-rents and dues to the Crown were carefully redeemed. In Sept. 1557, the Founder, having decided that there were sufficient grammar schools in the towns near Hooknorton and Deddington, added four more scholars to the College; for this and

for certain obits, doles and gaudys, organist's stipend, chapel expenses, etc., he made an "additament" of the manors and granges of Showell and Dunthrop[1] in North Oxfordshire, with lands in Bruern, Swalcliffe, and Little Tew, then leased for £51 16*s.* 2*d.* and six good capons, which were assigned to the Trinity Monday Gaudy. In the same year he procured from the Crown and annexed to the presidency, upon certain conditions, the rectory of Garsington near Oxford, which had belonged to Wallingford Priory, a cell of the Abbey of St. Albans. In 1558 he exercised the right he had reserved to exchange the late addition for lands of equal or greater value; and gave the College (1) the rectory and advowson of Much (Great) Waltham in Essex, formerly owned by Walden Abbey, which he had specially bought from Lord Rich; it was worth £48, and the College farmed it in 1560 for 51 years to John Sorell, "yoman of the Queenes Matie's Chamber," being authorised by the Founder to grant him a long lease; (2) a portion of the tithe of Dumbleton, Gloucs., lately belonging to a chantry there, but formerly the property of Abingdon Abbey by the gift of King Athelstan; this was worth £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, and was afterwards commuted for a rent charge; (3) a pension of 10*s.* from the same rectory, which is still of the same value. The total value of the original endowment, excluding the two advowsons and Garsington Rectory, was therefore £226 11*s.* 8*d.* This was not more than fairly adequate at the then value of money for the yearly charges on it as specified by the statutes; but it

[1] The one had belonged to Reading Abbey, the other to Bruern Priory.

was a valuable property in reversion, when the long leases ran out and the properties were relet upon beneficial leases or upon copyholds on lives, with fines for renewal and reserved corn-rents, as prescribed by the statutes of 13, 14, and 18 Elizabeth.

The emoluments of the members of the foundation consisted partly of a "yearely stipend or wage," and partly of a weekly allowance for "diett or commens." The President receives £10 a year and 2*s.* 8*d.* a week, the Fellows 53*s.* 4*d.* and 20*d.*, the Scholars and Master Cook 33*s.* 4*d.* and 12*d.*, the Manciple 53*s.* 4*d.* and 12*d.*, the "poor scholler to be Butler, who also shall be Porter and wayte allwayes upon the Presidente," 26*s.* 8*d.* and 12*d.*, the Under Cook 20*s.* and 6*d.*, the Laundress, who is to be a lady of a certain age above suspicion, but not to enter the quadrangle, 20*s.*, and the Barber 13*s.* 4*d.*, both without commons. The officers of the College receive salaries also, the Vice-President 26*s.* 8*d.*, the Dean and Bursars 13*s.* 4*d.* each, the Fellow or Scholar "as shall pleaye at organes and teache the Schollers to synge," 20*s.*, the Logic and Philosophy Reader 40*s.*, the Rhetoric or Humanity Reader 26*s.* 8*d.*, and the 4 Priest-chaplains 10*s.* each. For repairs and renewals in the Kitchen and Buttery there is an allowance of 40*s.*; for lights, wine, wax, etc., in the Chapel £5; and for fuel in the Hall and Kitchen £10. For the 5 obits 36*s.* 8*d.* is set aside; they are for Queen Mary, Dame Margaret Pope, Dame Elizabeth Pope, and the Founder's parents, on the four feasts of Our Lady, and for the Founder himself on Jesus Day, on which there is to be a dirge, with a mass the next day, and a dole of 12*s.* 2*d.* to 12 poor men and

12 poor women and the prisoners in the Oxford Gaol and Bocardo; every Friday 12*d.* is to be "bestowede in breade and small drinke being called syxtenes, and given to the poore prisoners within the Gaole of Oxforde." The schedule concludes with a list of Gaudy days and small sums allowed to augment the commons on each; they are Eastertide, Whitsuntide, Candlemas, Midsummer, Michaelmas, "Alhallon Daye," Ascension Day, Corpus Christi Day, and Christmas with the Twelve Days, on which the society was to consume the boar[1] and 6 capons provided by the tenants, and the "24 sacks of coles, 12 bushelles of good swete wheate, and 16 busshelles of good swete maulte," provided by the President from his Rectory of Garsington. While enjoying the good cheer they might play at cards in the Hall

"pro ligulis, lucernis, carta, et hujusmodi vilioris pretii rebus, at pro nummis nullo modo."

This list seems to show that the Founder attached most importance to those holy days, "Ecclesiae Anglicanae receptis et approbatis," which he thought most likely to survive the changes in religion. He prescribed however the special mass of the Name of Jesus for Fridays, and the mass of the Blessed Virgin for Saturdays; and a postscript allowing 12*d.* to the watchers at

[1] The boar was forwarded from Holcombe alive and kicking; *cf.* Comp. 1561–2 "Solut. pro pane et potu exhibitis lanioni mactanti aprum aliisque in eodem negotio existentibus, ix^{d}." At the end of the eighteenth century it seems to have furnished material for the "College Brawn," of which the Bursars sent portions as presents to old fellows and possible benefactors.

the "Sepulchre" on Good Friday and Easter Eve seems to indicate a special cult.[1]

The life of the Society thus constituted is regulated down to the minutest particulars by a body of statutes, which seem to have been drawn up by the Founder and Slythurst, in very fair Latin, possibly the work of Yeldard. They are old-fashioned rather than reactionary, and exceptional only in the latitude they allow in elections. The President is to be selected by the Founder, his wife, or the Bishop of Winchester as visitor, from two fellows being priests, nominated by solemn election in the chapel after the office of the Holy Ghost: natives of Oxfordshire are to be preferred *ceteris paribus*. His duties are mainly disciplinary and bursarial; he has two votes, a casting vote, and a veto in fellowship elections, and assigns rooms. The President and 7 senior fellows are to elect the Vice-President to superintend morals and theology, the Dean to see to discipline and the chapel, the Bursars, who are to balance weekly and render annual accounts, the two Readers, one lecturing in Philosophy and Logic, and supervising the *problemata* of the fellows and the *sophismata* of the scholars, and the other practising translation and composition in Latin with the younger

[1] The inventories mention "an upper and nether cloth for the Sepulchre, payned with whyte and read brydges satten," and "an Image of Christes resurrexion w[t] a case for the same havinge locke and kaye"; also "a quission to lay the crosse on in the Sepulchre, made of iiij scochyns wherein armes are wrought," and "a trestle to set the tapers on before the sepulchre." The painting of the Deposition over an altar in the old antechapel may therefore date from this time; the fine copy of Andrea del Sarto's Deposition in the Pitti, now hanging in the antechapel, was given by N. A. Nicholson (Commoner 1843).

scholars, "Graecanicae[1] linguae eos prorsus rudes non relinquens." The Fellows are to be elected on Trinity Monday from (1) the Scholars; (2) natives of the dioceses and other places in which the College has property; (3) natives of the Founder's manors. They must proceed to the degrees of B.A., M.A., B.D., and D.D., and must be ordained priest within 4 years of taking the M.A. degree. The fellowships and scholarships are vacated not only by immorality or heresy, to which a chapter is devoted, but by entering religion, marriage, acceptance of a benefice or permanent post, or absence from the college for more than the statutable periods. Not more than two fellowships at a time are to be held by natives of any one county, except Oxfordshire, which is allowed five.[2] The Scholars are to be chosen by the President and Officers, from natives of the counties in which the estates lie, or the Founder's manors, or failing these, the schools of Eton and Banbury, or at least Brackley and Reading. They must show proficiency in the composition of Latin letters and heroic verse, and also be "in plano cantu competenter

[1] Warton professes (Life, p. 236) to quote from a letter "to the president dat. Hatfield 1556," as follows: "My lord Cardinall's grace has had the overseeinge of my statutes. He much lykes well that I have therein ordered the latin tonge to be redde to my scholers. But he advises me to order the greke to be more taught there, than I have provyded. This purpose I well lyke: but I fear the tymes will not bear it now. I remember when I was a yong scholler at Eton, the greeke tongue was growing apace; the studie of which is now alate much decaid." This passage is not in the extant letters, and there is no indication that any have been lost: it is probably a fabrication.

[2] In 1854 the Rev. T. Short pointed out that this provision, intended to prevent undue county influence, sometimes kept out the best candidate in an election, if his county was fully represented.

eruditi." They must be between 16 and 20, in real need of assistance, and are superannuated at 24; one of them is to be elected as an organist. The regulations as to chapel services, studies, and meals, can be exhibited in a sketch of the daily routine as it must have been in the Founder's lifetime at least; the course of instruction provided is intended to cover the whole ground, since the "ordinary lectures of the regent masters," given as part of the University degree course, were already becoming "sterile" and useless.

The day commenced with Mass at 6.0, celebrated by one of the 4 chaplains; repeated lateness or absence (*i.e.*, arriving after the introit or elevation) and repeated misconduct were punishable by admonition, loss of commons, impositions, or, in the case of undergraduate scholars under 20, by a flogging to be administered by the Dean. For Sundays and Festivals the Founder prescribes full choral service,

"primas ac secundas vesperas, completoria et matutinas, et altas missas ac processiones, cum cantu et nota secundum usum ecclesiae Cathedralis Sarum,"

all wearing surplices and hoods, and the President a "graius amictus." In all masses the special collects, etc., for the founder would be inserted, and on ordinary weekdays the service would conclude with the Psalms *De Profundis* and *Deus Misereatur*, with versicles and responses from Ps. cxliii. 8–12, and a morning prayer, recited by the chaplain kneeling on the top step of the altar, and the scholars in a row on the bottom step. Then followed the "Logic" Lecture, lasting till 8.0 A.M., consisting of Arithmetic to be studied in

Gemmephriseus (Gemma of Friesland) or Tunstall of Durham, or Geometry in Euclid, or Dialectic in Porphyry, Aristotle, Rodolphus Agricola, and Joannes Caesarius, or Philosophy in Plato and Aristotle. At this point there would presumably be an interval for a scanty breakfast and bedmaking. The rest of the morning would be devoted to the higher exercises of the Bachelors and Regent Masters, at any rate on Wednesdays and Fridays, consisting of disputations in the Hall on questions of logic or natural philosophy or metaphysics or (in Lent) moral philosophy, publicly propounded and debated between opponents and and respondents in the presence of the whole body, for 2 or 3 hours; the Dean or Logic Reader presided, and punished the contumacious by shutting them up in the library with a literary imposition. Similarly the M.A.s, B.D.s, and D.D.s disputed and expounded the Bible in the Chapel under the care of the Vice-President. The Scholars also had their *sophismata* for 2 hours before dinner on 3 days of the week and 1 hour on the other three. The afternoon lecture from three to five was assigned to the Humanity Reader, who was to read and interpret to all the Scholars and Commoners Latin prose authors, such as Cicero de Officiis,[1] Valerius Maximus, Suetonius, or Florus, or for advanced students Pliny's Natural History, Livy, Cicero on Oratory, or Quintilian, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and Latin verse authors, Virgil, Horace, Lucan, Juvenal, Terence, Plautus, on the other three days. He might occasionally combine a poet and an orator, or, *if possible*, lecture on Greek. All public conversation, except in

[1] This is the only classic among the Founder's books.

the presence of strangers, was to be carried on in a learned language, especially by the Scholars.

For dinner in Hall no time is specified; it was probably at one or two o'clock. At the high table sat the President, Vice-President, and 2 doctors or seniors, with commoners being sons of lords or knights; at the first table on the east side of the hall the other fellows with the fellow-commoners of inferior birth; still lower the scholars, some of whom were to act as waiters. During dinner the Bible is to be read, and ruminated in silence, without "fabulas, clamores, risus, strepitus, tumultus, aut alia enormia," and afterwards expounded by the President or one of the fellows. When the tables have been cleared, and the long cloths replaced, and the basons, ewers, and water passed round, grace is to be said with a prayer for the Founder, and the loving cup is to be circulated; then while the scholars in waiting and the servants get their own dinner, one of the scholars is to declaim elegantly on a theme. This speech, called the "Narrare," continued till less than a century ago to be spoken from the fine brass lectern in the shape of the Founder's crest, presented by Richard Beckford, Promus, "Fidelis in Paucis," in 1723; this is now placed for safety in the chapel.

Besides these fixed hours there would be time wanted for attendance at University lectures or functions, and for private work in the stuffy little studies attached to the chambers, or even in the library among the books solemnly chained in stalls or pews; and there must be no disturbance "per ludos, tumultus, musica instrumenta, vel immoderatam vocis extollentiam." In the intervals it was possible for a fellow to take a walk if

accompanied by another member of the College, or for not less than three scholars to obtain leave to go out together; otherwise no undergraduate might quit the College except "ad parvisum et ordinarias lectiones." All were to wear long gowns or cassocks like priests, with the hood of their degree; the President alone might use "flammeolis, vulgo appellatis typettes"; but no one might flaunt "velvett, dammaske, satten, or silk chamlett, or sabilles, or martynes," or put off his cassock except in his chamber. The normal exercise was a "deambulation" in the grove, where you might even play fives or other handball games; but games "pilarum ad aedes, muros, tegulas, aut ultra funes jactitarum" within the buildings are declared to be as noxious as cards or dice or shooting or throwing stones or breaking the windows.

Bed time came early, at any rate in winter; the gates were shut before dark; no one might stay out at night under heavy penalties, or climb the walls by night or day, except perhaps the officers of the College in order to repair them. The rooms were assigned by the President to the fellows, scholars, commoners, battellars, and unmarried servants; in each were two or three beds, or at least a high bed and a truckle bed: no strangers except the Founder's descendants, or kings and queens of England, might pernoctate in college, or perhaps some person of honest conversation in case of serious illness. The large room near the Hall, probably that of the warden of Durham College, was to be reserved for peers' sons. Not more than twenty commoners might be taken in at once, exclusive of their private tutors; they were to pay room rent, be under

the tuition of a fellow, and share the studies of the scholars. There is no provision for servitors,[1] but they seem to have appeared very early, and sometimes several were admitted at once; but poor commoners, who performed menial offices for themselves were allowed;

"I am likewise pleased ther shalbe Batlers forseing alwayes that ther be no such nomber as may pester the College." (27 Nov. 1556.)

During the Long Vacation there are to be lectures by the Readers three times a week "de sphaera vel globo, aut de motibus planetarum, aut aliud simile"; and in the afternoons in Laurentius Vallensis, Aulus Gellius, Politian, or Oratory, or Verse-writing. On the other three days the B.A.s are to practise themselves in lecturing, and the M.A.s are to act as audience. In the shorter vacations the scholars are to produce declamations and verses, but these must not be "dentatae et ex bile natae." A scholar may be absent from Oxford for 20, or, in exceptional cases, 40 days, a fellow 30 or 90 days; extra days were allowed for preachers, and 6 months for attendance on the sovereign or a bishop. The statutes are to be read 3 times a year, and at Easter a scrutiny is to be held in the Chapel as to "vita, mores, conversatio, profectus scholasticus," with every facility for delation. Other arrangements, dealing with internal and external finance, etc., are of no special interest. Every appointment is safeguarded by oaths, and every offence has a suitable and

[1] They were abolished in the 18th century; and in 1792 the fellows refused a bequest of £2700 from a former servitor for reviving the institution.

cumulative punishment, usually terminating in expulsion.

The Founder's gift of the advowson of Garsington, obtained from the Crown in 1557, apparently with the help of Cardinal Pole, was intended partly to increase the emoluments of the President, who is directed in the English deed to preach there at least 8 times a year, and to provide "a sufficient Catholike and hable Curat[1]" to reside in his place; but still more in order that the Society might retire to Garsington Rectory during the epidemics then and later so common. They were to transport thither all necessary vestments, plate, books, and utensils, leaving the rest at Oxford in charge of four members; and the Founder at this point revokes his original prohibition of weapons, to the extent of desiring every one to keep in his room "fustem vel aliquod armorum genus bonum et firmum," to protect the College or support the public cause of the University. He left 500 marks for the erection of this house, which was finished with help from Lady Pope. The accounts of 1564 are full of a retreat to Woodstock, where they hired a house and paid 18*d.* *pro nocturnis vigiliis*, 2*s.* to the minister, and 20*d.* for the use of the church; and 12*s.* 10*d.* for mithridate, pills, and other preservatives, besides a dinner for the doctor at 3*s.* 4*d.*; but one of them died of the pestilence, at a cost of 4*s.* 9*d.* In 1571 the plague was so violent that the University lectures and even the Act were suspended, and the College fled to Garsington. The four who were left in charge were

[1] This is the earliest specimen of the modern use of the term Curate quoted in the New English Dictionary.

provided with antidotes, and never went out of college except for a weekly journey to Woodstock to buy food. The society at Garsington had to go as far afield for provisions as Abingdon and Kidlington, and no doubt had to give the Garsington butcher some such commission as they recorded in the Register in 1577, when they fled from the pestilence which followed the "gaol fever" of the Black Assize:

"To all Christian people to whom this present wrightinge shall com to be read or hard, Arthure Yelderd Presidente of the Colledge of the holye and indeuided Trinitye, etc., the felowes and scholers of the same Colledge send gretinge in owr Lord God everlastinge. Knowe yee that wee the saide President, Felowes, & Scholers, have appoynted, constituted, and assigned, etc., Thomas Blocksom of Garsington in the countye of Oxon Butcher To prouide and bye for vs soe manye calfes, and the same to kill as shall serve our necessarye vse for the sayde Colledge and companye there: from the makinge herof vnto the firste daye of June next folowinge the date herof, prayinge all Justices of peace and other the Quenes maiesties officers quietlye to permitt the sayde Thomas Blocksom to carye, drive, and passe throughe y^{r} libertyes with all sutche wares as he shall bye for sutche purpose before named. In witnesse whereof we, etc." (condensed from Reg. A. 144a.)

They also bought "black bylles" to protect the house, and even erected stables there in 1579. The last remains of the old rectory were destroyed in 1872, after the living had been detached from the presidency.

Another important work was the completion of the boundary wall, for which Sir Thomas left £100 in his will. In Nov. 1556, he had directed Slythurst to

secure 1000 loads of stone from William Freer (a grandson of Pope's stepfather, John Bustard) who was demolishing the Dominican and Franciscan Friaries near the river; in July 1557 he repeats the order for stone "for my part of Mr. [*i.e.*, Sir Thomas] White's wall." It was already a painful subject. Within three months of the first Trinity Sunday, two of the junior fellows, Simpson and Rudd, were about to be expelled for transgressing the clause *de muris noctu non scandendis*. The Founder, however, dealt with the offenders leniently,[1] in a diplomatic letter

"To his loving frend Mr Slythurst President of Trynitie Collegge in Oxford:

Mr President, w^t^ my hertie commendacions, Albeit Sympson & Rudd have committed such an offence, as whereby they have iustlie deserved not onlie for ever to be expulsed out of my Collegge, but also to be punished besides in such sort as others myght fere to attempt the like, Neverthelesse at the desier or rather the commandement of my ladye Elizabeth her grace, and at my wiffes request, who hath both sent and written to me verey earnestly, and in hope that this wilbe a warnyng for theym to lyve in order herafter, I am content to remytt this fault, and to dispence w^t^ theym touching the same. So always, that they openly in the hall, before all the felowes and scolers of the Collegge, confesse their faultes, and besides paye such fyne, as you with others of the Collegge shall think meat. W^ch^ being don, I will the same be recorded yn some boke; wherin I will have mencion made, that for this faulte they were clene expelled the Collegge; and at my

[1] The culprits were elected to the two Readerships in the following year, and Rudd became fellow of C.C.C. and reader in Greek there in 1563.

ladye Elizabeth her graces desier, and at my wiffes request, they were receyved into the house agayn. Signifying that if eny shall herafter commytt the like offence, I am fully resolved ther shall no creature living (the quenes maj^{tie} except, who may commande me), cause me to dispence w^{t} all. Assuring you I never dyd enything more agaynst my hert, then to remytt this matter the punishement wherof to the extremyte I beleve wold have done more good, then in this forme to be endyd; as knoweth the holye Gost, who kepe you in helth. Written at Hatfield the xxijth of August A° 1556,

Y^{r} own assuredly, Tho Pope.

Sir I requyre you above all thinges to have a speciall regard ther be peace and concorde in my Collegge."

But in spite of the "ij curtyns of read sylke to ange at the endes of thalter bought by Sr Simson and Sr Rudde for clyminge of the wall," there was open discontent with the statutes. The Vice-President thought of leaving the College and going to Hart Hall. Mr. Perte, the Junior Bursar, who had been set to calligraph the statutes in a parchment book still preserved, addressed some strictures on them to the Founder, who thought he must be "not well in his witt";

"I pray you tell hym . . . that I marvell nott a lytell to see him play the wanton. I doubt not that if he and all that be of his disposicion depart from my College, God wil send others in their Romes that will be content to lyve in my order and under good statutes."

But others also "mysliked" the statutes; and Perte's letter of objections exists, with comments by Slythurst and Sir Thomas, which show a fair desire to meet reasonable criticisms. On 15 Apr. 1558, Pope addressed

a letter to the fellows, which is transcribed in the Register, expressing astonishment at the idea that for the "rigour" of his statutes, any would "wantonly forsake the College:"

"So I require yow all quietlie to receve these statutes wch I eftsones send you sealed and subscribed w^{t} my hande; myndinge not for any man's pleasure herafter to alter and chaunge any of them; signifieinge the gryeffes that have been exhibited unto me by some of yow, and being pervsed and seene of diverse honorable wise and learned men."

Mr. Perte apparently decided to "see his tyme" and depart with the Founder's goodwill and favour; and his place was filled up by one of the scholars on Trinity Sunday.

The Founder's letters also recount some of the steps he took to free the estates from all claims and charges, especially to the Crown, such as Homage and Castle-ward, and the benefices of all incumbrances such as pensions. This he did effectively; and though in later times such claims were made, they were always repulsed, though sometimes with difficulty and expense. In one matter only he showed some parsimony; the margin for contingencies was certainly insufficient, especially as the buildings were old and out of repair. Even in 1556 the President found it difficult to pay the fees of Cardinal Pole's visitors[1] of the University, and to provide handsomely for the Trinity Gaudy; but for this and other feast-days the College often received gifts in kind, *e.g.*,

[1] The chief performance of these visitors was to disinter the body of Peter Martyr's wife. One of them, James Brookes, Bp. of Gloucester, consecrated the altars in Trinity chapel (Comp. 1556).

venison from the Chancellor (the Earl of Leicester) in 1561, and from the Queen in 1568, down to chickens and rabbits from the founder's-kin tenants. The college festival seems to have been treated as an occasion for fraternisation with the older foundations: but it is amusing to find that Trinity spent in oblations at Magdalen on St. Mary Magdalen's day, at All Souls on All Souls' day, and at Balliol on St. Katherine's day, the exact total sum which was received "pro oblacionibus Collegiorum" on Trinity Sunday. Extra servants were hired, *e.g.*, the St. John's cook in 1564, as well as extra plates, etc., "pro lautiori victu decanorum et doctorum illustrium in festo Trinitatis" (Comp. 1593–4); and sometimes spectacles or dramatic performances were given. The College was able to spend a little on small amenities, *e.g.*, an "ambulatorium ubi plantavimus privett" in 1561, followed up by a rosary in 1581, plum-trees in 1587, and a border of rosemary and paved alleys in 1594.[1] But besides the pestilences and the constant visitations which meant complimentary dinners and gloves, the important tenants such as Mr. Pope had to be entertained frequently, and even a "potatiuncula" to the farmer of Holcombe cost something. Glass and lead for the old windows was a serious item, and the cost of enlarging the buildings, beginning with attics over the rooms N. and S. of the Hall in 1573, and over the north range in 1577, was not balanced by the rents of rooms let to commoners or

[1] A new garden was made in 1580, and strict rules passed for confining the keys of it to the President and seven seniors, who are to pay a "peritus et idoneus hortulanus," until his wages can come from the "fructus ex eodem bene culto horto provenientes." (Reg. A. 142 a.)

strangers. And even when the College had saved a little money in the locker of the great chest still in the treasury, it might lose in changing light coin or foreign money; in 1569 the bursars bought scales on losing 18*d.* over some French crowns; in 1561 they had lost 29*s.* 5¾*d.* on about £15 worth of Spanish money and other coin.[1]

Any surpluses or extraordinary receipts were to be laid up in the Treasury to form a reserve fund, together with all the plate not required for Chapel or Hall or by the President. This formed an important asset; and though it could not even be recast, when worn out, without the consent of the Visitor, it might be converted into money in the last resort. Of Hall plate the Founder in 1557 gave 2 standing cups of 33oz. each, 2 salts, and 3 drinking pots, all silver gilt; but by his will he left a large quantity, specially made and received from Sir Hugh and Lady Poulet in 1564, viz., 3 gilt goblets, 6 plain drinking pots gilt with one handle, a standing cup complete gilt, 3 goblets parcel gilt, 13 spoons, one complete gilt, and a bason and ewer, 337oz. in all. Of the Chapel plate, vestments, etc., three long indentures are extant, dated 5 May 1556, 20 Jan. and 12 Apr. 1557, and are printed (inaccurately) by Warton. The first item is the priceless gilt chalice and paten, said to have belonged to St. Albans Abbey. Mr. W. J. Cripps describes it as an elaborate specimen of Tudor Gothic; it has a nearly hemispherical bowl, a stem ornamented with a plain knop, open tracery

[1] As late as 1773 the "Prayer-reading money during the long vacation" was granted to the Bursars "in consideration of the loss sustained by Light Gold."

between cable work, and an embattlement just above the six-lobed flowing foot, with the crucifix on one face. The paten has a sex-foil depression round an elaborated vernicle, and the legend "*Calicem·salutaris·accipiam·et. nomine·domine·in·vocabo*," partially repeated on the bowl and foot of the chalice. The hall-mark dates it at 1527. Then follow crosses, censers, crewets, candlesticks, antiphoners, legends, grails, missals, and psalters, 10 full suits of vestments, red, blue, white, and black, 7 splendid embroidered copes, red, blue, and white altar-cloths, corporas-cases, altar-linen, and cushions,

"a herse cloth of black fustion of Naples powdered with images, birdes, and rolles of nedleworke, with a crosse of whyte bustyon and the douve in the myddest," and "a great waynscott coffer to put in all the ornamentes aforesaid."

All the great houses in England must have been full of these spoils of monasteries and churches, though few traces of them now remain. The second list mentions a larger variety of articles for the usual services, together with many more vestments and copes, which are described in tantalising detail. There are corporas cases, "on the one syde of which is our Lady and her sonne on horseback, and on the other syde our Lady and her sonne sittinge in a chaire"; canopies such as "a rich cloth to hange over the blessed sacrament over the altar made wth cypers and perled wth gold, and frynged wth silver, beinge hemmede wth a lace of silke and gold"; a pax of ivory, "a pax of silver gilt wth a crucifix and Mary and John poz. xvj oz. iij qu.," a ship

of silver with a little spoon for frankincense, more copes, banners, processionals, and hymnals, a "Judas cross of waynscott," a Paschal candlestick; and "a fair payr of organs wch wth the cariage from London to Oxford cost x li.," on receipt of which the fellows sent over to St. John's those which Sir Thomas White had lent them until wanted for his own chapel.[1] The third inventory specifies albs for acolytes, many tunicles, more copes and service books, a gospellar with a copper gilt crucifix on a silver cover, and an epistolar with a silver-gilt figure of St. Paul, and a "crucifixe of wodde, paynted with the foure evangelists, to set at the entry of the Queere"; but it is significant that the copy of this in the Register concludes with an addition dated June 1558, of "a bible in Englishe, with v psalteres and a . . . . communion booke, and two bookes of common prayer in Latten." In the same list is a Greek Psalter covered with cloth of gold, presumably the one which was rebound in 1599, and is still in the library; it contains a note "Md. that the reuerend father in god John Busshop of Wynton gave me this booke, Tho. Pope."

The College thus commenced its career as a new corporation, "a body politick *in nomine et in re*," with power to transact all necessary business by means of its common seal. This also was provided by Pope, with a "parvula cistella ferrea" with two locks, in which it still reposes; it is large and vesica-shaped, with the Founder's shield below a medieval representation of the

[1] "For as moche as it is evill cariage of my organes this wynter, Mr. White, at my request, is content you shall have his littel organs till the beginning of somer" (27 Nov. 1556). White was twice entertained by the College.

Trinity, God the Son sitting on the right hand of God the Father with the Dove hovering between. There is also a smaller seal for letters, etc., with the arms, crest, and motto, and the initials T. P., "ex argento et manubrio osseo confectum," given in 1599 by Thomas Packer (Scholar 1587–90), elder brother to a more famous Trinity man, John Packer, M.P. for West Looe 1629, friend of Eliot, and secretary to the Duke of Buckingham. The Founder's own seal was presented by Col. J. S. North in 1884. The University recognised the munificence which had added this the first new society to the recently diminished number of foundations, and sent a present of gloves with letters of thanks to Sir Thomas and Lady Pope in 1556. Generous friends were not wanting from the first, such as Thomas Southern, Treasurer of Exeter Cathedral, who offered £20 on the first Trinity Sunday, and Thomas Rawes, Canon of Windsor, who gave a large quantity of books for the Library. The Founder's early death, though it prevented the fulfilment of many munificent intentions, probably made it easier for his college to adapt itself to changes very soon necessitated by the progress of the outer world.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY STRUGGLES

Presidents: Thos. Slythurst, B.D., 1555–1559; Arthur Yeldard, D.D., 1559–99.

Before the Founder's death there had been only two elections to vacant fellowships; the junior of the original fellows, Robert Bellamy, D.M., afterwards Canon of Durham, and appointed Master of Sherburn Hospital as "an honest man, a preacher and a physician, to have charge both of the souls and bodies of the poor impotent sick persons," refused a more lucrative fellowship at St. John's College. But the next few years were full of uncertainty, and the constant changes among the fellows must have hindered the development of the college.

In June 1559 Elizabeth's Commissioners came down to reverse the proceedings of Cardinal Pole. Thomas Slythurst, the first President, was originally a fellow of Magdalen, and had held various offices there 1538–43. He was probably absent during the reign of Edward VI., but had several votes for the presidency of his college at the elections of Oglethorpe in 1553, and of Coveney in 1558. Queen Mary made him Canon of Windsor in 1554, and he was much in the confidence of the

Founder. He found himself unable to take the new oath of supremacy, was deprived in Aug. or Sept. 1559, and is said to have died a prisoner in the Tower of London in 1560. The theological books he gave to the Library have all perished.[1] The fellows were allowed to exercise their right of election, and of their two nominees Lady Pope selected Arthur Yeldard to be President, "trusting it shall be for the commoditie of the Coledge and also for your comfrethe and quietness." It is impossible in the absence of the Computus for the years 1557–60 to give exact dates; but it appears that five more of the fellows and some of the scholars quitted their places in 1560–1. It is not certain that they were all sufferers for conscience sake, since some, such as Thomas Scott, who was Proctor in 1560, are afterwards found in possession of benefices; and it is clear that the reforms were not drastic, since a curtain was bought to hang "supra ostium crucifixorii" in 1561, though the new Bishop of Winchester, Robert Horne, a zealous Protestant, himself visited the College the same year. But the *sacerdotes missas celebrantes* henceforth appear as *capellani preces celebrantes*, though the old festivals of the Virgin, Corpus Christi, and St. Thomas the Martyr, continued to be observed, as

[1] A few title-pages only survive, together with others from early-printed books given by the Founder, Canon Rawes, John Arden (Sch. 1556) and Thos. Allen. These were preserved when the decaying books were discovered in 1807 walled up in part of the old vestry under the S. end of the Library. With them was the fine illuminated missal of Abingdon Abbey, now repaired and treasured among the MSS. The other half of this is in the Bodleian (Digby MSS. 227) and probably belonged to Thos. Allen; it has been mutilated, but has still one fine illuminated page bearing the date 1461.

Gaudys at least, till after the middle of the next century.

In Sept. 1566 Horne visited the College by a Commissary, who required all the fellows to swear to the Articles of Religion, and to state any abuses requiring reform. They all replied, "nihil adhuc fuisse et esse in Collegio reformatione dignum"; and things passed off quietly with a dinner to Dr. Acworth costing 40*s*. But in 1567 two of the fellows resigned, Wm. Saltmarsh and Leonard Fitzsymons; the latter was a clever Irishman, and is described as a

"deepe and pithie clerke, well seene in the Greeke and Latine tongue, perfect in the mathematicals, and a payneull student in divinitie,"[1]

who migrated to Hart Hall, and died a priest of the Roman mission in Ireland. Similarly in 1569 Christopher Wharton (Sch. 1559, Fell. 1562) fled to the seminary at Douay; after officiating as a priest in England for many years, he was barbarously executed at York in 1600. In 1570 more serious pressure was applied. The Visitors of the University, acting under the Queen's commission, with the support of the Chancellor, Leicester, gave the College a fortnight's notice to "deface" all the Founder's church plate, etc. There was some slight resistance, which produced a rescript from Bishop Horne:—

"To the worshippfull my loving freindes the president and fellowes of Trynitie Colledge in Oxford:

After my hartie commendations, Wheras I am enformed that certaine monumentes tendinge to Idolatrie and popishe or devills service, as Crosses, Sensars, and suche lyke

[1] Holinshed after Stanihurst, quoted by Warton.

fylthie Stuffe vsed in the Idolaters temple more meter for the same then for the house of God, remayneth in yor Colledge as yet vndefaced, I am moved thereby to iudge great want of goodwill in some of you and no lesse neglygence in other some as in beinge so remisse to performe yor duteis towardes God and obedience vnto the Prince. Wherefore I can do no lesse as in respecte of my office and care I haue of yo^{u} but verie earnestly forthwth vppon the receite hereof will yo^{u} to deface all maner suche trashe as in the Churche of Christ is so noysome and vnsemelye, and to convert the matter therof to the godlie vse, profett, and behofe of yor house, and further to have in mynde the motion made by the Graunde Commissioners. Yf any do make dowte of yor statutes in that parte (as some more obstinate than zelous maye doe), I do signifie vnto yo^{u} that I have pervsed the Statutes and do fynde that the same well considered and the wordes therof trulie interpreted yo^{u} maye lawfully wthout infringinge of any part therof deface the same abvses and receave the comoditie that maye be had therof to thvse of yor house. So trustinge to hear shortlie that the same shalbe accomplished effectuallie, I wishe to yo^{u} all the increase of the grace of godes holie sprite. From Waltham the xixth daye of Julij 1570.

Yo^{r} lovinge frende,

ROB. WINTON."

(Reg. A. 138 b.)

This was actually done; the valuables seem to have been taken away to be sold; as late as 1590 the sum of £22 is credited "pro bonis sacelli recuperatis." The altars were destroyed, and 11*s.* paid "pro communionis mensa et pluteis." But the blow fell heavily on the society, and no less than six of the fellows resigned or were ejected in 1571. The fortunes of three of these

illustrate different tendencies in the Romanising movement. THOMAS FORDE (Sch. 1560, Fell. 1565) went to Douay, was ordained at Brussels, and returned to England. He was arrested at Lyford with Campion the Jesuit in 1581, thrown into the Tower, and executed at Tyburn 28 May 1582, protesting his innocence of everything but denial of the Queen's supremacy.[1] GEORGE BLACKWELL (Sch. 1562, Fell. 1565) retired to Gloucester Hall; but in 1574 finally committed himself by going to Douay, and on his return to England was long in prison or in hiding. He was trusted by foreign ecclesiastics such as Bellarmine and Cajetan, and in 1598 was appointed "Archpriest" over the secular clergy in England by Clement VIII., to act with the provincial of the Jesuits. Opposition to his authority was fomented by the government as a means of dividing the Romanists; and when he supported and took the new oath of allegiance in 1607, he was deprived of his office by Paul V., and violently censured by the Ultramontane party. THOMAS ALLEN (Sch. 1561, Fell. 1564) also migrated to Gloucester Hall; but he stayed there, attaining great repute as a mathematician and antiquary, and great influence both in the University and with such men as Bodley, Camden, Cotton, Selden, and Spelman. His skill in astrology was taken for magic, and his servitor, says Aubrey[2], would tell credulous people that

[1] There is a long account in Holinshed, iii 1344–5. Forde was beatified by Pope Leo XIII. in 1886.

[2] Clark's Aubrey, i. 27; where there is a good story of his leaving his watch in the chamber window when on a visit. "The maydes came in to make the bed, and hearing a thing in a case cry, *Tick, Tick, Tick*, presently concluded that that was his Devill, and tooke it by the string with the tonges, and threwe it out of the windowe into

"sometimes he should meet the spirits comeing up his stairs like bees." He refused a bishopric from Leicester; and, dying in 1632, was buried in Trinity Chapel, where orations were spoken over his grave. The College has his portrait and some books; his valuable MSS. fell into the hands of Sir Kenelm Digby, and are now in the Bodleian.

Many more instances of the Romeward movement might be given. EDWARD HYNDMER (Sch. 1561, Fell. 1568), perhaps a relation of the last Warden of Durham College, retired rather than take Protestant orders; and after living many years, as poor scholars often did, with a patron, Sir Rob. Dormer of Wing, left to his old College in 1618 all his books, many French and Italian works, and a sum of money which paid for new "seats" or bookcases in the Old Library. THOS. WARREN (Sch. 1568, Fell. 1572) went to Gloucester Hall in 1579, and was buried in Trinity Chapel in 1598, leaving a small legacy. RALPH SWINBURNE (Sch. 1569, Fell. 1572) was kept back from his M.A. degree on suspicion of being a Papist. Strangest of all is the career of the Foundress's nephew, RICHARD BLOUNT, fellow for three weeks in 1583. A letter by three Fellows of Balliol, dated 25 June 1583, says:

"May it please you to understand y^t ye xvth day of this present moneth of June there are departed out of our Universitye towardes the seminarye of Rheames (as itt is crediblye reported by ther one frendes) certaine students of

the mote (to drowne the Dévill). It so happened that the string hung on a sprig of an elder that grew out of the mote, and this confirmed them that 'twas the Devill. So the good old gentleman gott his watch again."

Trinitye Colledge, and certaine of other Colledges, as namly, Cicell, Ouen, Coole, Haull, and Sir Blunte, lately chosen out of our Colledge contrary to the counsel's letters to be probationer of Trinitye College. The man stoode for prefermente in our howse, and for suspition of his religion was worthilye repelled. Yet he founde such favour wth ye Lady Paulett y^{t} on Trinitye Sunday last he was elected a member of Trinity Colledge. These parties have a longe time bin noted as enimies to relligion and hir majesties proceedinges." [1]

The College must have been in great confusion. John Cecil (Sch. 1573, Fell. 1576) and John Oven (Sch. 1578, Fell. 1582), and his brother Walter, a servitor, were received with Blount in July 1583. In 1582, 3 fellows and 1 scholar had fled together, Wm. Spencer (Sch. 1573, Fell. 1579), Anthony Shurley (Sch. 1576, Fell. 1579), Wm. Wardford (Sch. 1576, Fell. 1578), and John Fixer (Sch. 1579). Wardford became a learned Jesuit and died at Valladolid in 1608. Blount too was ordained at Rome, came from Spain to England successfully disguised as a released prisoner, settled with the Darells at Scotney Castle, entered the Order of Jesus, which he promoted so energetically in England that he was made Provincial in 1623. After a wonderful escape from arrest at Scotney, he lived in the greatest secrecy in London, till his death in 1638.

Meanwhile the College flourished under the new President, on a small scale but with growing repute as a place of education. Arthur Yeldard was a Northumbrian from North Tynedale[2] and had been a fellow of Pem-

[1] Douay Diaries, ed. Knox, p. 363.

[2] Ex autogr. in Reg. A. Warton's "MSS. F. Wise," say he was educated in Durham Abbey and was a member of Jesus College, Rotherham.

broke College, Cambridge, and travelling tutor to the sons of Sir Anthony Denny. He was a fair classic; his complimentary verses are meritorious, and his Latin prose in the statutes has distinct style. No attention need be paid to a "vain libel" recorded by Wood (Hist. and Ant. ed. Gutch ii. 142) that he

"having before fled the land for Religion sake, became afterwards a wanton. . . . For though it hath these verses following on him, yet Doctor Kettle his successor in the said Presidentship did always report him to have lived a severe and religious life:

> And him whom conscience once did cause
> For deadly vice away to flye,
> Now being trap'd in the same clause,
> With *Yelding* voice doth errour crye."

He was selected to dispute before Elizabeth in 1566, and to help in reforming the University Statutes in 1576; in 1580 Leicester made him Vice-Chancellor. He died 2 Feb. 1599, and was buried in the Chapel, bequeathing the *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*. Yeldard may have done something to preserve the old connexion with the north, since in the earliest lists of commoners there are many names from Durham, Northumberland and North Yorkshire, such as Conyers, Claxton, Blakiston,[1] Lascelles, Shafto, Trentham, Cloudesley, Errington, Lawson, Wyvill, Wandesford, Killinghall and Constable. But the limitations, such as they were, to the foundation soon began to tell, since scholars were

[1] Marmaduke, younger brother of Sir Wm. Blakiston of Blakiston, Knt., was admitted in 1579. He was Prebendary of York and Durham, father of John Blakiston, M.P. for Newcastle 1641 and a Regicide, and of Frances wife of John Cosin, Bp. of Durham.

usually elected from among the commoners, and as they succeeded to fellowships created a local connexion with the Home Counties in which the College estates and the Founder's manors mostly lay. Accordingly within a short time the characteristic names are those of the families of the Southern Midlands, such as Ashfield, Hampden, Dugdale, Fettiplace, Lenthall, Chamberlain, Hoby, Lucy, Chetwood, Dormer, Biddulph, Fleetwood, Bagot, Annesley and Newdigate. The scholars were usually drawn from the specified counties; but from the first there are cases of elections from elsewhere, especially Somerset, Herts, and Staffs, probably owing to Lady Poulet's influence. One or two fellows were elected annually from the scholars, practically without county restrictions except as to the numbers; before 1600 the tenure rarely exceeds 10 years, and the rapidity of the succession is shown by the fact that out of 144 scholars elected in the first 50 years, 75 became fellows also.

Like other small foundations, Trinity soon became primarily educational in aim. In 1565 there were already 17 Commoners, and the number contemplated by the Founder must soon have been habitually exceeded, since 10 to 25 were admitted annually and remained from one to three years. The fellows who acted as their tutors gave bonds of £10 each to the College for the commons and room rent of their pupils, and in 1579 a decree was passed that all *convictores et battellarii* are to pay 40*s.* or 30*s.* each as caution-money, in order to make up a common purse (*commune marsupium*) and provide a current balance for the weekly expenditure. The *libri cautionum receptarum et restitutarum* form the only record of admissions to the College till the Admission

Registers begin in 1648, and supply many names which are not to be found in the University matriculation books, since that ceremony was usually deferred, and often omitted if there was no intention of taking a degree. On the other hand the servitors paid no caution money, but were generally matriculated. Fellows and scholars took oaths, and were therefore admitted before a notary public, who recorded the proceedings in the College Register, which is a practically complete register of the foundation. In all about 6000 names are ascertainable, of which nearly 1000 are those of members of the foundation, including the recent additions. The age at admission varied widely; the scholars were usually 16–18; the humble battellars, who were making their way into professions, and performed menial offices for themselves, were rather older; the sons of knights esquires and gentlemen were usually 15–17, though many cases occur of mere boys of 12–14 or even less, as when a younger was sent up with an elder brother. The Wentworths were 11 and 8, John and Jerome Carr 10 and 9, and HENRY CONSTABLE[1] of Burton and Halsham, created Viscount Dunbar in 1620, matriculated at the age of 8 with a private tutor who was an M.A. Some of these undergraduates were already married, *e.g.*, FRANCIS VERNEY, who matriculated in 1600, aged 15. His university course was brief; in a few years he ran

[1] He was killed at Scarborough in 1645. His sister married Sir Thos. Blakiston, Bart., nephew of the Rev. Marmaduke. In 1590 Lady Catharine Constable, widow of Henry's grandfather, Sir John Constable of Kirby Knowle, and daughter of Henry Nevill 5th Earl of Westmoreland, devised £10 a year for an exhibitioner from Halsham School, and a small sum for a fire in the Hall on St. Hugh's day: but the benefaction was never received.

through his property, went to Jerusalem, perhaps turned Mahommedan, certainly became a pirate on the Barbary Coast, served as a galley-slave and as a common soldier, and was recognised in 1615 on his death-bed in the hospital of St. Mary of Pity at Messina.[1] Wealthy commoners on going down often left their caution-money to the College, or gave pieces of plate inscribed with their name and arms.

The education given to so miscellaneous a set of young men and boys was probably perfunctory; they attended the lectures given to the undergraduate scholars and no commoner was allowed to take a degree without having given "in collegio specimen aliquod suae eruditionis." If any one remained on for further study, he was really obliged to work; in 1576 some rules were passed for the exercises of B.A.s, which required that not less than four of them should declaim *memoriter* on Thursdays after dinner on subjects approved by the *Lector philosophicus*. One omission was punishable by a fine of *2s.*, a second by a diet of bread and water at dinner, taken in silence; a third by two nights of this; and a fourth by expulsion. On Tu. Th. Sat. each week a *quæstio* was to be debated in Hall or Chapel, from the Ethics, the Physics, or the Politics; and B.A. commoners are liable equally with the foundation. The discipline, at any rate, was severe enough; loss of commons, which meant hunger when the victim had no pocket-money, was the smallest penalty inflicted; and in the next century Aubrey records that

"the rod was frequently used by the tutors and deanes on

[1] Memoirs of the Verney Family, i. 4. A fine portrait, a gilt cane, two gorgeous silk pelisses, etc., are at Claydon House.

his pupills, till bachelaurs of Arts; even gentleman-commoners. One Dr. I knew (Dr. Hannibal Potter, Trin. Coll Oxon) right well that whipt his scholar with his sword by his side when he came to take his leave of him to goe to the Innes of Court."

With the increase in the numbers, the College must have been much pressed for room. All the "poor scholars" seem to have lived and slept together, probably in the Old Bursary or Common Room. Sometimes new rooms were hastily prepared, as in 1602 the attics over the library for the young Wentworths. In 1576–8 the accounts record heavy expenses on making the attics over the north range, which appear in Loggan and are similar to those remaining on the E. side; and in 1605 Kettell spent the last penny on repairing rooms and studies, "et sic ne gry quidem restat in gazophylacio nostro." Yeldard himself, with some help from the College in 1596, repaired the rectory house at Garsington, which was constantly used by the society. The receipts from room rents vary considerably, and were perhaps not always brought into the account. In 1561–2 there is an entry of £5 8*s.* 4*d.* *pro cubiculis*, and in 1575–6 one of £10 19*s.* 2*d.* *pro cubiculorum usu de convictoribus* and smaller amounts are paid *pro musaeis*, but in many years the commoners are charged only for their fuel (*pro focalibus*), and were apparently not dependent for warmth on the common fire in the Hall, round which the fellows and scholars might assemble on cold evenings. A fragmentary inventory of c. 1626 gives some idea of the standard of comfort in the lower "greate chamber at the southerne end of the Hall," as furnished for three or four inmates: it had

"2 dores with lockes, & 3 keyes to the inner, 3 greate windowes with 6 iron casementes and 6 woodden leaves & 2 cubbards. 2 high bedsteads and 1 troclebed. A long hollowed bench. 1 forme. A woodhouse with a dore & 2 hinges. 4 studdies with dores lockes and keyes. In the north studdie opening toward the plump-yard 1 square table 9 shelves 3 iron casements & a woodden dooble leafe to the windowe. In the south studie at the same end 1 square table, a cubbard vnder the windowe, 1 iron casement with a woodden loose leafe, 16 shelves. A new wainscott on ye north side. In the other two studdies 2 tables 2 casements shelves in the one 3 in the other 4."

It is not clear whether the College owned most of the furniture, then including the woodwork of doors, windows, etc., at this time; but it certainly paid a great deal in small repairs to the rooms and their contents, as well as for the kitchen and buttery stock. The chapel required constant attention; in 1578-9 there is an entry "pro reparatione fenestrarum in sacello et transpositione literarum in vitro fenestrarum." The library was replenished almost entirely by gifts, sometimes from commoners, or learned foreigners; but the binding and chaining the books was an expensive item, and a benefactor, who, like the Founder himself, sent the chains for his volumes, was thought worthy of special mention.

It is remarkable that during this century, though many gifts of books, plate and small sums of money are recorded, no material addition to the endowment was received. Lady C. Constable and Edmund Hutchins had charitable intentions, but appear to have exercised them with reference to property in which they had only a life interest. Richard Blount's legacy of £100 was not

obtained from his widow without severe pressure; and when received was not sufficient to maintain a thirteenth scholar, till it was invested and augmented by the Foundress's grant of the rectory of Ridge, Herts. This was a lease for 99 years, with a covenant to renew in perpetuity; and the proceeds were to be devoted to increasing the stipends of the lecturers and the supply of fuel, as well as to the poor scholar. In 1680 the College had to sue Lady Poulet's heirs, and eventually secured from the Master of the Rolls an order for a 1000 years lease from Sir Thomas Pope Blount, to whom they had to grant a re-lease for the same term at a very low rent. In the *Computus* of 1597-8, the last audited by Yeldard, the external receipts are £241 11*s.* 8*d.*, the internal from commoners, including the balance of the caution-money, £40 14*s.* 6*d.*; the statutable stipends, commons, etc., absorb £187 4*s.* 5*d.*; Chapel, Buttery, and Kitchen expenses, 63*s.* 6*d.*; journeys on business, £10 17*s.* 9*d.*; repairs, especially of windows, £5 2*s.* 3*d.*; miscellaneous payments, £3 9*s.* 8*d.*; extra commons for workmen and guests, £11 18*s.* 8½*d.*; fuel, £38 4*s.* 2*d.*; the Founder's alms, £3 2*s.* 8*d.*; and the total expenditure comes to £263 3*s.* 1½*d.*

The latter part of the reign of Elizabeth was a period of stagnation in the Universities. The hand of the calvinistic Chancellor, the Earl of Leicester, was laid heavily not only on the disorderly conduct of the younger scholars, who were beginning to break through the antiquated methods of discipline, but on any master or doctor who was considered unsound. Still, an academic reputation was worth something; and Trinity had a sufficient number of fair scholars and writers, and "painful

preachers," who attained respectable preferment. Some few fellows or scholars of the new and struggling society besides those already mentioned, have found their way into biographical dictionaries. Robert Wright (Sch. 1574, Fell. 1581-98) held numerous benefices, including a Canonry at Wells, and chaplaincies to Elizabeth and James I. He was first Warden of Wadham for a few months in 1613, till he found that he was not allowed to marry.[1] In 1623 he was consecrated Bishop of Bristol, and in 1632 translated to Lichfield and Coventry. Prynne says that he was under the influence of Laud, attempted to set up images at Bristol, and actually set up "a goodly crucifix in a frame with pictures of men and women devoutly praying to it" in Lichfield Cathedral. In 1641 he was one of the Bishops imprisoned for protesting against their exclusion from the House of Lords, and defended himself at the bar of the House of Commons.[2] On his release, he fortified his palace at Eccleshall, and died there while it was being besieged by Sir William Brereton. There are two good portraits on board in the President's Lodgings, one dated 1632 of this Bishop, the other of

[1] Or possibly, as legend says, till the widowed Mrs. Wadham found he would not marry *her*.

[2] "Be it remembered, that he was one of the twelve Bishops that suffered for protesting against the Laws that passed in Parliament, during the tumults; and one of the two, that for his painfulness and integrity, for his moderation and wariness, had the most favourable imprisonment for that protestation, being committed only to the *Black Rod*, while the rest went to the *Tower*. His Virtues having indeed the vices of the times for his enemies, but not the men. . . . His advice to his Clergy was, that they should not σωματοῦν τὴν ψυχήν —embody and enervate their souls by idleness and sloath." Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 600.

a finer-looking man, BERNARD ADAMS (Sch. 1583, Fell. 1588-96), Bishop of Limerick 1604, with which See he held Kilfenore 1606-17. He was entertained by the College in 1620. Adams, who is said to have bestowed organs, etc., on his cathedral of Limerick, died in 1606. Wood, who is apt to be correct, assigns to Trinity another bishop, who is not found in the college or university registers, RICHARD SMITH, who left Oxford to study in the English College at Rome, and at Valladolid and Seville. He was engaged in the English Mission, but afterwards settled in Paris, and devoted himself to controversy. In 1625 he was selected by Urban VIII. to be Vicar Apostolic for Great Britain, and was consecrated titular Bishop of Chalcedon. In England he soon alienated the old-fashioned Roman Catholics, was proclaimed by the Government, lived in France under the protection of Richelieu, and died in 1655 at the English Austin nunnery in Paris, to which he bequeathed St. Cuthbert's ring, now at Ushaw College.

JOHN BUDDEN (Sch. 1583) was a man of many varied attainments. He was philosophy reader at Magdalen, Principal of New Inn Hall, 1609, and of Broadgates Hall, 1611; Regius Professor of Civil Law, 1611, being "a most noted Civilian," and also eminent in astronomy and geometry. He composed Latin lives of Bishop Waynflete and Archbp. Morton, and translated Sir Thos. Bodley's statutes into Latin. JOHN WHISTLER (Sch. 1598) was Recorder of Oxford, and M.P. for the city from 1625 till "disabled" in 1644. He and his brother Henry (Sch. 1601, Fell. 1605) each gave £5 to the rebuilding of the Hall. HENRY MASTERS (Sch. 1583, Fell. 1584) was Principal of St. Alban Hall,

1603-14. JOHN EATON, the first Blount scholar (1590-6), is described by Wood as a "grand Antinomian." He was made Vicar of Wickham Market in 1604, and was so active that

"in a few years the parish was generally reformed; insomuch that most children of twelve years old were able to give a good account of their knowledge in the grounds of religion."

Yet in 1619, the Bishop of Norwich deprived him as "an incorrigible divulger of errors and false opinions;" and he was constantly imprisoned. After his death various writings on Free Justification were published.

But perhaps the most brilliant member of the foundation was HENRY CUFFE (Sch. 1578, Fell. 1582), who resigned his fellowship in 1584, in obedience to letters from the Foundress, though there is no trace in the college books of the story which Wood says he had from Bathurst:

"The founder Sir Thomas Pope would, wheresoever he went a visiting his friends, steel one thing or other that he could lay his hand on, put in his pocket or under his gowne. This was supposed rather an humour than of dishonesty. Now Cuffe upon a time with his fellows being merry said, 'A pox! this is a poor beggerly College indeed: the plate that our founder stole would build such another.' Which comming to the president's ears, was thereupon ejected, though afterwards elected into Merton College."[1]

Cuffe was however elected Fellow of Merton in 1586,

[1] Clark's Wood's Life, i. 424. Warton says the joke was made at another college, and refers to some "Bathurst Papers, MSS." which are not extant: (Life of Pope, 2nd ed. 1780, § viii.).

under Sir Henry Savile, and appointed Regius Professor of Greek in 1590; he was Proctor in 1594, and in that year gave some volumes to Trinity Library. He was a "rare Grecian," and assisted Columbanus in the first edition of the *Pastoralia* of Longus. When Elizabeth visited Oxford he saluted her at Carfax in a Greek oration, and was respondent at a divinity disputation held before her at Merton on the question "an dissensiones civium sint utiles Reipublicae." Unfortunately, he entered the service of the young Earl of Essex as secretary, was with him on the expedition to Cadiz and in Ireland in 1598. When Essex was imprisoned and released in 1600, Cuffe seems to have given him injudicious advice, and was eventually dismissed but reinstated. He took no part in the riot of 8 Feb. 1600, but was arrested with Essex, who accused him as "one of the chiefest instigators of me to all these my disloyal courses into which I have fallen." Cuffe defended himself with great spirit against Coke's abuse[1] at his trial, but was condemned and executed at Tyburn 13 March 1601. Wood quotes an epigram on his end:

"Doctus eras græcè felixque tibi fuit Alpha;
Ut fuit infelix Omega, Cuffe, tuum."

[1] "When Mr. Cuff, secretary to the Earl of Essex, was arraigned, he would dispute with him in syllogisms, till at last one of his brethren said, 'Prithee, brother, leave off; thou doest dispute scurvily.' Cuff was a smart man and a great scholar and baffeld him. Said Cooke, "Dominum cognoscite vestrum" [Ovid, *Metam.* iii. 230]. Cuff replied, "My lord, you leave out the former part of the verse, which you should have repeated, 'Actæon ego sum' reflecting on his being a cuckold" (Clark's Aubrey, i. 179). But "Power will easily make a solecisme to be a silogisme," says Fuller anent Coke and Cuffe.

Cuffe's letters[1] to John Hotman, a learned French Protestant of the University of Valence, in the service of the Earl of Leicester, and apparently acting as private tutor at Christ Church in 1581 to Anthony and George Poulet, sons of Sir Amias, throw a little light on his career at Trinity. He speaks of Sir Amias Poulet as his Mæcenas, and of the two Saviles of Merton College as his friends and patrons. "He has been malevolently slandered and is in great danger;

"literae a fundatrice nostra, ad nos hoc ipso die [19 May 1582] perlatae sunt virulentissimè atque acerbissimè in me et quosdam alios conscriptae;"

his friend must write at once to Sir F. Walsingham. In Aug. 1582, his troubles have nearly extinguished his studies; the college is *γυναικοκρατούμενον* and he will quit it for Merton:

"vides quam misera sit in hoc nostro Collegio eorum conditio, qui vere et ex animo literas et pietatem amant, nihil fallax, nihil *ὕπουλον* meditantur. Vides impios, illiteratos, homines plane *ἀθέους* expulsos restitui, restitutos confirmari, confirmatos ad dignitatem evehi . . . A quo tandem homine? a nostro (si diis placet) episcopo,[2] quem ego vereor ne

[1] Franc. and Joh. Hotomanorum Epistolae, Amsterdam, 1700, pp. 270 sqq.

[2] This was not Horne, but John Watson, Bp. of Winchester 1580–4. He seems to have acted under the influence of Lady Poulet, who was more than suspected of recusancy, and is mentioned in a letter to Mary Queen of Scots as a safe Catholic. After Horne's death till her own in 1593, she freely exercised her right to nominate fellows and scholars, and in 1592 induced Bp. Cooper to annul an election. Watson had cancelled the election of Cuffe, Oven, and 2 other B.A. scholars to fellowships in 1582, but Cuffe and the other two with Kettell and Blount were elected again in 1583; in these two years the large flight to Rome took place; see p. 81.

verè Antichristi Romani Emissarium affirmare possim." Hotman promises to appeal to Leicester, advises retreat to Merton. Cuffe alludes (18 Dec.) to some document shown to Lady Poulet: "quod ais gratum D. Pouletae libellum meum exstitisse, id verò laetor maximè, imo, ut inquit ille, seriò triumpho, rem tam levis et exigui momenti feminae, tot eximiis virtutis et fortunae donis excellenti, placuisse."

On 8 April 1583, he implores Hotman to get Leicester to appeal to Lady Poulet, or to influence the Warden of Merton in his favour.

Unhappily there is no Aubrey or Wood for the Elizabethan period, and no diaries survive to illustrate in detail the life in Trinity College. Aubrey, however, has one anecdote of a Trinity tutor, HENRY SLYMAKER (Sch. 1592, Fell. 1596–1610) which gives a glimpse of the manners of the time; it comes through Bishop Robert Skinner, who was elected Scholar in 1607.

"One Slymaker, a fellow of great impudence and little learning—the fashion was in those dayes to goe, every Satterday night (I thinke) to Joseph Barnes' shop, the bookeseller (opposite to the west end of St. Mary's), where the newes was brought from London, etc.—this impudent clowne would alwayes be hearkning to people's whisperings and overlooking their letters, that he was much taken notice of. Sir Isaac Wake, who was a very witty man, was resolved he would putt a trick upon him, and understood that such a Sunday Slymaker was to preach at St. Mary's. So Sir Isaac, the Saterday before, reades a very formall lettre to some person of quality, that cardinall Baronius was turned Protestant, and was marching with an army of 40,000 men against the Pope. Slymaker hearkned with greedy eares, and the next day in his prayer before his

sermon, beseeched God 'of his infinite mercy and goodnesse to give a blessing to the army of cardinall Baronius, who was turned Protestant and now marching with an army of forty thousand men,' and so runnes on: he had a Stentorian voice, and thunderd it out. The auditors all stared and were amazed: Abbot was then Vice-cancellor, and when Slymaker came out of the pulpit, sends for him, and asked his name: 'Slymaker,' sayd he; 'No,' sayd the Vice-canc., 'tis *Lymaker.*'"

Among commoners of the College during the 16th century are a fair number of knights and members of Parliament and dignitaries generally; but some few deserve special mention, besides the relations of the Founder and Foundress and the others already noticed. In a University matriculation list of 1574 three names of some note occur: Henry Atkins, of Great Berkhampstead, afterwards studied at Nantes, and was third President of the Royal College of Physicians. He was physician to James I. and Charles I. for 32 years till his death in 1635, and refused the first patent on the invention of baronetcies: Sir Edward Hoby and his younger brother Sir Thomas Postumus Hoby were the sons of Sir Thomas of Bisham, by the learned Elizabeth Coke. The elder brother, says Wood,

"was a person of great reading and judgment, especially in the controversies between Protestants and Papists, a singular lover of arts, substantial learning, antiquities, and the professors thereof, particularly the learned Cambden;"

he was also a diplomatist, M.P. for Queenborough, Berkshire, and Rochester, and constable of Queenborough Castle. He gave to the library a finely bound

copy of Sir H. Savile's grand Chrysostom. Among his controversial tracts were "a Counter-snarl for Ishmael Rabshakeh, a Cecropedian Lycaonite," and "a Curry-comb for a Coxcombe, or Purgatory's Knell." The younger brother represented Appleby, Scarborough and Ripon. THOMAS LODGE, the satirist, son of Sir Thos. Lodge, Mayor of London, does not appear in the lists on admission, but took his B.A. from Trinity in 1577 and M.A. in 1581; so Wood is probably right in saying that he was educated there as servitor to the Hobys. He wrote poems, essays, masques and romances, translations of Josephus and Seneca, and a treatise on the plague. His fine pastoral songs and madrigals are quoted in anthologies; Shakespeare drew "As You Like It" from his romance of "Rosalynde: Euphues Golden Legacy." He studied medicine abroad, took a degree in it at Avignon, and practised in London chiefly among Roman Catholics. OLIVER ST. JOHN, son of Nicholas, of Lydiard Tregoze, was a Commoner in 1577. He served in Flanders and France, was M.P. for Cirencester, Portsmouth, and Co. Roscommon; went with Mountjoy to Ireland in 1601, where he became Commissioner for Ulster in 1608, and Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1616. He was knighted in 1601, created Viscount Grandison of Limerick in 1623, and Baron Tregoze in 1626. ROBERT MASTERS (Com. 1578) preceded his brother Henry as Principal of St. Alban Hall 1599–1603; he was also Fellow of All Souls, Chancellor of Rochester and Lichfield, and M.P. for Cricklade. JOHN RANDALL (Com. 1583) became fellow and benefactor of Lincoln College, and was a famous preacher both at Oxford and in London, where

"he was accounted a judicious, orthodox, and holy man, and by some a zealous and innocent puritan, of a harmless life and conversation, and one that was solely framed to do good acts."

GEORGE CHAWORTH (Com. 1585) was M.P. for Notts, and created an Irish peer as Baron and Viscount Chaworth in 1628. JOHN PACKER and HENRY CONSTABLE (1596), and SIR FRANCIS VERNEY (1600) have been already noticed. THOMAS NEWTON, a writer on history, medicine, and theology, and an excellent composer of commendatory verses in English and Latin, is assigned to this College c. 1560–70, but there is no authority of any sort for Warton's statement; and it is known that he was educated chiefly at Queen's College, Cambridge.

The most distinguished Trinity commoner of his time was certainly GEORGE CALVERT, who came up from Kiplin in Yorkshire in 1594. He was a good scholar and contributed a copy of verses to Wright's collection on the death of Sir H. Unton; and acquired a useful knowledge of French, Spanish, and Italian. In 1603 he became secretary to Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State, was employed in Ireland, was appointed one of the clerks of the Council in 1608, and in 1609 elected M.P. for Bossiney. In 1617 he was knighted, and in 1619 created principal Secretary of State, and served James faithfully as an industrious, cautious, and patriotic, though not a brilliant or popular, minister; but he had a difficult part to play as intermediary between the king and the Commons, who thought him a "Hispaniolised Papist."[1] He represented Yorkshire

[1] This is the phrase of another Trinity man, Arthur Wilson, in his Life of James I.

with Sir Thos. Wentworth, and afterwards Oxford University. He was on the whole in favour of Spain and the Spanish match ; on the collapse of this policy he resigned his office in Jan. 1625, and declared himself a Roman Catholic, having for some time made no secret of his change of religion. In Feb. 1625 he was made an Irish peer, as Baron of Baltimore, co. Longford, where he had a large grant of land; and retired altogether from public life, devoting himself to "that ancient, primitive, and heroic work of planting the world." He had been interested in the Virginia Company from 1609, and had purchased a plantation in Newfoundland in 1620. For this he secured

"a Patent to him and his heirs to be Absolutus Dominus et Proprietarius, with Royalties of a Count Palatine, of the Province of Avalon, a place so named by him in imitation of Old Avalon in Somersetshire, wherein Glassenby stands, the first fruits of Christianity in Britain, as the other was in that part of America. Here he built a fair house in Ferry Land, and spent £25,000 in advancing the plantation thereof." (Fuller's Worthies.)

In 1627 he went to Newfoundland himself, and again with his whole family and 40 colonists in 1628, but found many difficulties besides the hardships of the climate: "I came to builde, and sett and sowe, but am falne to fighting with Frenchmen." One M. de la Rade of Dieppe seized "two English ships within the harbour with all their fishes and provisions"; Calvert sent two of his ships, and the French bolted, leaving their booty and 67 men, who were secured next day. Eventually Calvert's ship, with "the *Unicorn* of London," took

"six French ships, five of Bayonne and one of St. Jean de Luz, for the hurt they have done us, and have sent them now to England,"

to Buckingham as Lord High Admiral. Two of Calvert's ships were the Ark and the Dove, which afterwards carried the first colonists to Maryland.

The winter nearly destroyed the little colony, and in 1629 Calvert sailed to Jamestown in Virginia to prospect; as a Roman Catholic he was coldly received by the authorities there, and returned to England. In 1632 he obtained a grant of land on both sides of Chesapeake Bay, including the whole Eastern peninsula and running down to the Potomac; but he died before it passed the Great Seal. The establishment of Maryland,[1] so called from Charles I.'s queen, and the interesting question of religious toleration there, belong to the account of his successor, Cecilius, 2nd Lord Baltimore, whom he sent up to his old College in 1621.

[1] The story of the foundation of Maryland, with which the college is connected in the persons of its *alumni*, is charmingly narrated in W. H. Browne's volume in the Makers of America series, a copy of which was presented to the Library by Principal Gilman of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, who was present at the Trinity Gaudy in 1890.

CHAPTER V

EXPANSION

President: Ralph Kettell, D.D., 1599–1643.

THE commencement of an era of considerable success for the College coincides with the election to the presidency in Feb. 1599 of RALPH KETTELL, D.D. The new president was born in 1563 of a respectable family settled at King's Langley, Herts, was nominated scholar by the Foundress in 1579, and elected fellow in 1583; he had been for some time a leading spirit in the College, and was a thoroughly capable man of business. For about 50 years the archives of the College consist almost entirely of lists, memoranda, and copies of deeds and accounts, in his curious handwriting; he is never so happy as when he is drawing up reports about buildings which "we hope ye age succeedinge will receive as a true apologie for those great expenses whereof ye accompts make mention"; and his letters to recalcitrant debtors are full of a dry humour. He was clearly a man of real ability, though it was confined to the interests of the College; and he was

"an honest man and a good governor, but, in his latter time, peevish and froward, and had never any great stock of learning,"

beyond the usual complimentary verses, and a great gift of scolding in Latin. "At my first coming to the University at Oxford," says Dr. Walter Pope, "there were innumerable bulls and blunders fathered upon him." Many of these are preserved by Aubrey,[1] who was admitted a year before his death, and who describes his personal appearance. He was "a very tall well growne man" with a "fresh ruddy complexion";

"His gowne and surplice and hood being on, he had a terrible gigantique aspect, with his sharp gray eies. . . . He dragg'd with one foot a little, by which he gave warning (like the rattlesnake) of his comeing. Will. Egerton, a good witt and mimick, would goe so like him, that sometime he would make the whole chapell rise up, imagining he had been entring in. . . . He sang a shrill high treble; but there was one (J. Hoskyns) who had a higher, and would play the wag with the Dr. to make him straine his voice up to his. . . . He had a very venerable presence, and was an excellent governor."

But Aubrey, while narrating many intentional or other quaintnesses in his sermons, does justice to his good qualities as President:

"He preach't every Sunday at his parsonage at Garsington. He rode on his bay gelding, with his boy Ralph before him, with a leg of mutton (commonly) and some Colledge bread. He did not care for the country revells, because they tended to debauchery. Sayd he, at Garsington revell, 'Here is Hey for Garsington! and Hey for Cuddesdon! and Hey Hockly! but here's nobody cries, Hey for God Almighty!' . . . When one of his parish, that

[1] Clark's Aubrey, ii. 17–26, excellently arranged.

was an honest industrious man, happened by any accident to be in decay and lowe in the world, he would let his parsonage [*i.e.*, tithes] to him for a yeare, two, or three, fourty pounds a yeare under value.

"In his college, where he observed diligent boyes that he guessed had but a slender exhibition from their friends, he would many times putt money in at their windowes; that his right hand did not know what his left did. Servitors that wrote good hands he would sett on worke to transcribe for him and reward them generosely, and give them good advise.

"He observed that the howses that had the smallest beer had most drunkards, for it forced them to go into the town to comfort their stomachs: therfore Dr. Kettle alwayes had in his College excellent beer, not better to be had in Oxon; so that we could not goe to any other place but for the worse, and we had the fewest drunkards of any house in Oxford."

Many of the tales of his eccentricity not only illustrate the disciplinary ideas of the time more vividly than formal statements, but show the truth of a description of him by a contemporary fellow that "his braine was like a hasty-pudding, where there was memorie, judgement, and phancy all stirred together." The undergraduates must often have learnt that

"if you had to doe with him, taking him for a foole, you would have found in him great subtilty and reach: *è contra*, if you treated with him as a wise man, you would have mistaken him for a foole.

"He was constantly at lectures and exercises in the hall to observe them, and brought along with him his hower glass; and one time, being offended at the boyes, he

threatened them, that if they would not doe their exercise better he would bring an hower glass two howers long.

"He was irreconcileable to long haire; called them hairy scalpes, and as for periwigges (which were then very rarely worne) he beleeved them to be the scalpes of men cutt off, after they were hang'd, and so tanned and dressed for use. When he observed the scolars' haire longer then ordinary (especially if they were scholars of the howse), he would bring a paire of cizers in his muffe (which he commonly wore), and woe be to them that sate on the outside of the table. I remember he cutt Mr. Radford's[1] haire with the knife that chipps the bread on the buttery-hatch, and then he sang (this is in the old play—Henry VIII.—of *Grammar Gurton's Needle*)

And was not Grim the collier finely trimm'd?
Tonedi, Tonedi.

'Mr. Lydall,' sayd he, 'how do you decline *tondeo*? Tondeo, tondes, tonedi?'"

Kettell's building operations were chiefly extensive repairs of the old Durham College quadrangle, and additions of studies to the chambers. He constructed in the high roof of the east range the attics, with picturesque dormer windows on both sides, which still remain, and erected "paper buildings" near the old kitchen, of which the south side is seen in Loggan's

[1] WM. RADFORD was "a good friend and old acquaintance" of Aubrey, and one of his chief authorities. He was Sch. 1640, Fell. 1644, till expelled by the Visitors in 1648. He went with EDW. WOOD (Sch. 1643) on "a frolique from Oxon to London on foot," when they visited Mr. John Hales at Eton, and "remonstrated that they were Oxon Scholars; he treated them well, and putt into Mr. Wood's hands ten shillings" (Clark's Aubrey, i. 280). JOHN LYDALL was Sch. 1640, Fell. 1646–51, submitted to the Visitors, acted as tutor till 1657, when he died and was buried in the chapel.

view. In 1605 he reconstructed a set of rooms and a bursary out of the old bursary and vestry below the library; in 1616 he put the Lodgings in good order. In 1618 he commenced digging a large cellar under the old refectory, which proceeded to collapse; he then set to work to collect subscriptions for rebuilding it; and by 1620 had completed the present Hall at a cost of about £700. Of course he built sets of chambers over it, some of which were approached as at present and others by a staircase leading past the door of the Common Room. The windows were originally surmounted with ogee gables like those at University or Oriel; the north face of the entrance screen appears to be older than the building. Among minor works may be mentioned the dials, one next the library windows in the E. range, which was made by Henry Gellibrand in 1623; the other (shown in Loggan) on the north range was constructed after Samminitiatus by Francis Potter. Potter also painted the copy of the Founder's portrait now in the Hall. In 1612–3 "the Found^{rs} and the Foundress pictures" in the Hall cost £3 and £2, and were covered with a curtain; there was also "the Found^{rs} old picture" in the chapel with a curtain of greensay. Timber was often obtained from the estates for the repairs, esp. from Holcombe Grange, to which the bursars paid many visits in 1607–8, sometimes by water; "sol. vehenti nos per rivum in schaphis ij^{d}."

The Library was largely increased partly by annual purchases mostly of classics, but especially by a gift of £100 from Lord Craven; Hyndmer's bequest was sufficient to finish the new bookcases, etc.; and a librarian was first appointed in 1629. About 1615–20

From a photograph by the] [*Oxford Camera Club*

COTTAGES AND KETTELL HALL

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Kettell obtained a long lease from Oriel College of Perilous Hall which adjoined the College on the S.E., and proceeded to build the fine house which bears his name. There is no certainty that Kettell himself ever inhabited it; there is a blocked up doorway at the bottom of the garden, which led into the College grounds; and in bequeathing it in reversion to his nephew, Fanshaw Kettell, he seems to regard the 'chiefe house ground and appertinances' simply as an investment. Wood says that plays were acted there secretly during the Puritan domination. After the Restoration it was certainly used for the reception of commoners, for Bathurst in 1665 speaks of "both the College and Kettell Hall" being brim full and running over. In 1675 a charge occurs for Mr. GILBERT BUDGELL's (Sch. 1668, Fell. 1677–84) "chamber supervisour" at Kettell and the house continued to be used by the College ing some part of the 18th century.

In Kettell's time the revenues began to increase, not only from the rents from the rooms and the numerous new *musaea* or studies, but from the falling in of the long leases of the Great Waltham and Dumbleton tithes 1606–7. The increments were used to increase the commons and stipends[1] under 18 Eliz. c. 6; and the fines on renewal of the new beneficial leases were distributed between the foundation and the general fund or *Domus* in the proportion of $\frac{2}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$, corresponding roughly to the Founder's apportionment of the original revenue. Room rents seem to have been treated similarly, a fixed sum of 6*s*. 8*d*. per occupant going into

[1] £1 per week went to commons; of the balance the President had $\frac{1}{10}$, the fellows $\frac{1}{20}$ and the scholars $\frac{1}{40}$ each.

the general account, together with the total rents of all studies, etc., if recently erected by the College; the assignment of a third to Domus began in 1809.[1]

Another source of revenue was a perpetual voluntary subscription invented by Kettell, 12 Dec. 1602, when he carried the *Decretum de Gratiis Collegio rependendis*, which was often reprinted as a fly-sheet. The decree provided that any Fellow or Scholar inheriting property of the annual value of £5 or £10 should make a present to the College of £1 or £2 or so on in proportion; a benefice of £8 or £16 per annum should pay a similar tax of £1 or £2 or so on; while the acquisition of £100 or £200 of capital should make a man mindful to bequeath the College 5 per cent. of that sum in his will. An oath to observe this resolution was added to the statutes; Kettell started the "chest" with 40*s.* on account of the rectory of Garsington. This fund disappeared with the other spare cash in the civil wars; but the principle initiated by Kettell has done much to compensate the College for the absence of external benefactions, such as built up many of the wealthier corporations.

Another invention was the plate fund, to which every commoner was expected to contribute 20*s.* This sum was excused or returned if he gave a tankard or bowl with his name and arms, as was commonly done by the wealthier. Many lists have survived, but none of the plate so given, except two fine silver communion flagons,

[1] The subject of the distribution of increased revenue is very obscure, since it was not all brought into account. These points are taken from an elaborate paper on "Increments" drawn up by President Wilson in 1858.

with the names of Wm. Pickeringe (adm. 1619) and Richard Bull (adm. 1629), and a small beautifully chased silver-gilt cup or chalice with a cover, which is dated 1583 and bears the inscription:

Emit Bourne,[1] tenuit Kettell, nunc possidet ista
Sacra domus Triados, perpetuo et teneat.

The inscriptions, recorded before the plate went to the melting pot, are useful for identifying the families of the donors, but the following summary, dated 23 Dec. 1631, gives the best idea of the amount of plate:

It. Three Silver Salts. It. Three eared Pottes called the Founders Potts. It. Eleven eared potts given by Mr. Chetwood, Horsey, Harrington, Baber, Males, Williams, Freake, Fleetwood, Stafferton, Sedley, Bathurst.

It. 2 Tunnes given by Mr. Carrill, Smalpage.

It. thirtie six bowles given by Mr. Males, Stockers, Ashbye, Blunt se., Blunt ju., Leucknor, Seymor, Tipping, Glemham se., Glemham ju., Bressy, Lyster se., Lyster ju., Morley, Ford, Master, Stonehouse, Pickering, Phillips, Spiller, Byshop, Vernon, Thinne, Simonds, Dauis, Slingsbye, James, Calvert, Quarles, More, Samwell, Pleydwell, Peshall, Crompton, Hart, Ayliffe. It. 4 Siluer Tankards given by Mr. Crauen, Leighton, Brewerton, Gibbon. It. 6 Silver tankards given by Mr. St. John sen., Whitmore, Weld, St.John iun., Apseley, Handford. Itm. fiue bowles given by Mr. Harrington, de Mayerne, Mountague, Denham, Wagstaff.

Itm. 35 spoones

So I acknowledge; John Ouldweston.

[1] Sch. 1607; Canon of Wells 1618.

There is in Mr. Praesidents Keeping:

Mr. Henry Dayes guilt Bole. Hector Pawletts guilt Bole. Sr Thomas Neuills guilt bole wth a couer. Palmes guilt Bole wth a couer. St Phillip Musgraves guilt Bole wth a couer. William Goolds guilt bole. Wolley Mellers guilt Bole. Amyas Pawletts Tankerd guilt. Zouch Tates Tankerd guilt. Atkins Tankerd white. Leighs Tankerd white. Andersons Tankerd white. Mr. Dukes Bole white. A Cur Bole white. Horseys Pott white. Wentworths Pott wth a Couer white. Poculum Parliamentarium cum operculo. William Crauens gilt Tankard. Ld Wentworths Tankerd white. Wardors tankard white.

These twentie peeces I have in my Custodie
Ita est R. Kettell.

To this must be added the bulk of the Founder's plate, which was kept in the treasury and only brought out on great occasions. Among subsequent donations was a cup given by Edmund Ludlow.

In 1622 the College invested £500 in the purchase from Sir John Dynham of a small farm at Oakley and Ickford, Bucks, to which a field in Brill was added later as a compensation for forest rights in Bernwood. This sum was a benefaction obtained from a stranger through the father of one of the then fellows, Gilbert Ironside, Bishop of Bristol 1661-71, whose account of the matter, given long afterwards to Bathurst, is very curious:

"John Whetstone in the latter part of his life lived at Abbotsbury in the County of Dorset, and was lookt upon as a mean inconsiderable and vicious person, living altogether upon usury and extortion. Not longe before his death one Mr. Lawrence Meller importuned him for the loan of a hundred pounds, and profferd my father's security

unknown to my father. Whetstone consenting and appointing a day, Mr Meller comes to my father and acquaintes him therwith, withall desiring my father to go along with him to the said Whetstone in Abbotsbury at the day appointed. My father answered that if Whetstone would come to him, he would give the security required, but refused to go to Whetstone as being upon the account of his sordid and scandalous living a disparagement unto him. Upon this answer Meller returnes to Whetstone, and gave him a bribe of five shillings to come to my fathers house at Longbridds, wch was but 3 miles from Abbotsbury, where Whetstone dwelt. Whetstone coming to my father some houres before Mr. Meller, my father among other thinges talkt with him in these wordes: John, thou hast no child, what wilt doe with all thy money? Whetstone replyed that He was sometimes a child of Winchester College, where they had noe Breakfast, and therfore I have a mind to give five hundred pounds that the children may have a breakfast. My father told him, that was a good deed, and withall acquainted him with a Benefactor that they had in University College (where my father was sometimes fellow) whose memory was preserved in an Anniversary Sermon at St. Peters in the East and Gawdy in the Hall. This pleased the Usurer well, who therfore replyed, I will give five hundred pounds more to the College, where your son is fellow. W^{ch} good intention my father also presst upon him with this motive, That Dorsetshire men are excluded most of the great Colleges in the town, and that therfore what he gave should be ordered for the advantage of Dorsetshire men. This conference being ended Mr. Meller came, and Whetstone had his security & returned to his home.

Not long after Whetstone falls sick (of wch sickness he dyed) my father hearing therof made speed to him to see

his own good motion and the other's promise to be performed, and asking him whether he had put it into his will. He answered, No; but that Mr. Angel Smith (an old companion of his) had the keeping of his will, & that he had sent Post for him, and doubted not but that He would be suddenly there. My father therfore stays till Angel Smith comes, who looking for the will perceived He had lost it in his journey. For the finding therfore of it, servants are dispatcht to look after it, who enquiring of shepheards in the fields at last recover it. The will being brought, my father perused it, and finding it omitted in the will, minded John of his promise to Trinity College and never left till he persuaded him unto it agayn. But the time being short to make a new will, He desired my father to advise, what was to be donne, who therfore told him there was no way but annexing a Codicill to the will, wch would soon be donne if they would procure him pen inke and paper, wch being brought my father writt the codicill with his own hand, and annexed it to the will, as may appear by consulting with the original will.

Ita testor in perpetuam rei memoriam
Gilb. Bristoll."

It is not surprising after this that the codicil, signed "by me, John Whetstone, sicke as sicke may be, God helpe me," was disputed by the executors; and the College had a chancery suit of some years before "Fr. Verulam Canc.," ending in the payment of the money to the Visitor, Bp. Andrewes.

A less dubious benefaction came from RICHARD RANDS (Sch. 1605, Fell. 1610-23), Rector of Hartfield, Sussex, who left in 1640 to four feoffees, to be "under the degree of gentleman," land to provide annually £20

for a free schoolmaster at Hartfield, £5 for the poor of that parish, and £5 for his native place, Fishlake, Yorks., and £20 for the use of the Library of Trinity College, to which he also left his portrait and some valuable books, with a long Latin letter.[1] This sum was considerably augmented in 1869, after an amicable chancery suit to deal with the management of the trust property, which had increased in value. In 1641 the manor and manor-house of Abbots Langley, Herts., with about 190 acres of land, once belonging to St. Alban's Abbey, was left jointly to Trinity College, Oxford, and Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, by Francis Combe, of Hemel Hempstead, grand-nephew of the Founder. The estate was to be let to the descendants of his own brothers and sisters, or of those of his two wives, at one-third under the rack-rent, and the receipts applied in exhibitions. Combe's object appears to have been to establish a founder's kin endowment in connexion with the two colleges; but the fund, after being more than once reorganised in Chancery, was devoted to a general Exhibition Fund by the new statutes of 1882, The land was usually let to the Greenhill family, descended from a brother of Combe's second wife.

In Kettell's time occurs the first question that arose as to tenure of places; in 1629, Bp. Neile decided that only fellows could be tutors, and that scholars must retire at the age of 24. In 1637, Bp. Curll required Kettell to admit Josias How, afterwards a well-known Royalist

[1] Rands's taste for classical composition had got him into trouble in 1621, when he was "convented" and forced to recant for a copy of Latin Iambics, printed by Wood (Hist. and Ant., ed. Gutch, ii. 348), which he had written and circulated against the Spanish match.

fellow, to a vacant fellowship, which the President was intending to ignore for the time. The College is hardly mentioned in Laud's diary of his Chancellorship 1630-41; but it was due to him that it had to pay £3 12*s* 7¼*d*. "pro Libro Statutorum Academiae," and £10 in 1636 "pro Rege et Regina excipiendis," with 10*s*. "pro Buccinatoribus Regiis," and £2 15*s*. for gloves for Lord Craven. Laud was instrumental in the reconversion to the Church of England of two Trinity men, Wm. Chillingworth and Henry Birkhead. Kettell distrusted him and kept out of his way, actually asking a servant who brought him venison from Laud, and refused to carry it back, "if the Archbishop of Canterbury intended to put any scholars or fellows into his College." Kettell had felt Laud's power in 1628, when, as Bishop of London, he had ordered the arrest of an old Trinity man, ALEXANDER GILL, B.D. (adm. 1612, re-adm. 1618), then acting under his father as surmaster of St. Paul's School. Gill was a very clever verse writer, and is known as the teacher and friend of John Milton; but he was a reckless and scurrilous talker. Just after Buckingham's assassination, he had visited Trinity, and while idling about the college and drinking in the buttery with "Mr. Pickering and Mr. Craven"[1] in the presence of the junior fellow, Wm. Chillingworth, called for a health to Felton, and declared that the Duke was in hell with the late king, who was "fitter to stand in a Cheapside shop

[1] This must be JOHN CRAVEN, afterwards Baron of Ryton, and founder of the Craven Scholarships, adm. Commoner 1626 with Wm. Pickering, adm. 1619, re-adm. 1626 probably as Craven's private tutor.

with an apron before him, and say *What do you lack?* than to govern a kingdom"; which remarks were at once reported to Laud, probably by Chillingworth, who was his godson. Gill was soon dragged from his class-room by two pursuivants, and committed to the Gate-house. SAMUEL FISHER (Sch. 1612, Fell. 1618) wrote down hurriedly to warn Pickering, adding that "Sir Morley and Mr. Deodat are of my mind that Chillingworth is the man." Letters from Gill were seized in Pickering's rooms, containing all sorts of reflections on the Duke and James I.; an M.A. of Jesus was also arrested; but Pickering cleared himself sufficiently to be dismissed with a reprimand. The imprudent usher for his "mad-brain, railing humour" was sentenced by the Star Chamber 6 Nov. 1628

"to be degraded both from his ministry and degrees taken in the University, to lose one Ear at London and the other at Oxford, and to be fined £2000."

His father, with the aid of Laud and Dorset, managed to save the ears and most of the money. The victim was Highmaster[1] of St. Paul's 1635-40, and died 1642.

This incident introduces some of the names of a singularly distinguished set of men who must have known one another at Trinity. ANTHONY FARINGDON (Sch. 1612, Fell. 1617-34) was a noted tutor and preacher in Oxford and London, where he officiated 1647-56 "to the great liking of the loyal party," when turned out of his vicarage of Bray and canonry of Chichester. He was a friend of John Hales of Eton,

[1] George Gill (Sch. 1617) was also a master at St. Paul's 1628–1640; another brother, Nathaniel, was Scholar 1625-32.

and his published sermons have remarkable force. WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH (Sch. 1618, Fell. 1628–32), son of a Mayor of Oxford, was the greatest controversialist of his time. He was perverted by John Fisher the Jesuit, and went to St. Omer; but was reclaimed by Laud, became one of the philosophers who resided with Falkland at Great Tew, and published the "Religion of Protestants" in 1637, for which he was made Chancellor of Salisbury. The book is one of the ablest controversial treatises ever published, and was recognised as such, even by Hobbes, who

"would commend this doctor for a very great witt; 'But by G—,' said he, 'he is like some lusty fighters that will give a damnable back-blow now and then on their owne party.'"

Chillingworth's turn for mathematics led him to act as engineer in the defence of Arundel Castle, though the rude soldiers.

"curst *that little priest* and imputed the loss of the Castle to his advice. In his sicknesse he was inhumanely treated by Dr. Cheynell, who, when he was to be buryed, threw his booke into the grave with him, saying, 'Rott with the rotten; let the dead bury the dead.'" [1]

CHARLES DEODATE (Com. 1623) was the schoolfellow and intimate friend to whom John Milton addressed the Elegia Prima, Elegia Sexta, and the "Epitaphium Damonis," the most passionate of his poems. He was

[1] Clark's Aubrey, i. 172. He died in prison at Chichester 24 Jan. 1644. Aubrey's story that he was cheated out of the presidency by the Visitor on Kettell's death is incorrect, as he was not even nominated.

a nephew of Giovanni Diodati, the translator of the Bible into Italian. In the same year were admitted—(1) Sir William Craven, the wealthy champion of the Queen of Bohemia,[1] created Baron Craven of Hampsted Marshall 1627, and Earl of Craven 1664. He practically supported the unfortunate heirs to the Palatinate, and lent Charles I. £50,000; was first Colonel of the Coldstream Guards, and died 1697. He subscribed liberally to college funds. (2) Samuel Fisher, a noted Puritan preacher at Lydd in Kent, joined the Baptists in 1643, became a Quaker in 1654, and endeavoured to preach his tenets in such places as Dunkirk and Rome, "whether under pretence of converting the Pope, I cannot say it." He was constantly imprisoned from 1660 till his death in 1665, and left many controversial treatises. (3) Sir Gerard Napier, M.P. for Melcombe Regis 1640, hesitated between King and Parliament so much that he was mulcted by both; but he entertained Charles II. at More Crichel in 1665. Sir Philip Musgrave (Com. 1624) was a prominent Royalist. He held Carlisle for the King, joined Montrose, and was captured at Rowton Heath. In the second part of the war he again seized Carlisle and Appleby, assisted the Earl of Derby in the Isle of Man, and was frequently imprisoned; but survived to sit for Westmoreland in 1661. Francis Roberts (Com. 1625) was a Presbyterian clergyman in London, but conformed in 1660; he wrote a "Clavis Bibliorum" and a metrical version of the Psalms. In 1627 was admitted one of the greatest of Trinity commoners, Henry Ireton, the great Parlia-

[1] The college subscribed £4 "in subsidio dnae. Elizabethae" in 1612-13.

mentarian general, whose career is part of the history of his time. Wood, of course, says that at Oxford "he had the character of a stubborn and surly fellow towards the seniors, and therefore his company was not at all wanting"; but even Wood cannot deny him remarkable ability.

Nor were the generations which preceded and succeeded this much inferior in general distinction. The foundation produced two Bishops: GILBERT IRONSIDE (Sch. 1605, Fell. 1612–19) was a wealthy Dorsetshire clergyman who occupied the poor see of Bristol 1661–71. He had been preceded there by ROBERT SKINNER (Sch. 1607, Fell. 1613–23), the founder of a family of which every generation was represented at the College for over 200 years. He was *inter alia* rector of Launton, Bishop of Bristol 1637–41, of Oxford 1641–63, and of Worcester 1663–70. He was one of the Bishops sent to the Tower in 1641; and lived at Launton till the Restoration, holding secret ordinations, sometimes (it is said) in Trinity Chapel. NATHANIEL HIGHMORE (Sch. 1632–9) became a doctor at Sherborne, Dorset; he was a friend and disciple of Wm. Harvey; published works on anatomy, hysteria, etc.; and discovered a cavity in the upper jaw, called from him the "antrum of Highmore." HENRY BIRKHEAD (Sch. 1635–8) was a Latin poet of some merit, and an "universally beloved man"; he was perverted and taken to St. Omer, but recaptured by Laud, who made him a fellow of All Souls'. He left money for the professorship of Poetry, which was founded in 1708. DANIEL WHISTLER (Sch. 1635–40) was fellow of Merton, Linacre Reader, and President of the Royal College of Physicians 1683. Many fellows

and scholars who took benefices were among those who were sequestered by the Westminster Assembly and reinstated at the Restoration, while others of the same college standing were ejected for non-conformity in 1662.

The careers of the commoners admitted during the same period were naturally more varied and more distinguished in active life. The caution books mention about 800 undergraduates during Kettell's 44½ years of office, and the caution-money varies from 30*s.* to £5, the usual sum being £3. Many of these were boys who resided for a year or two and went down without having been matriculated; on the other hand, the scholars and servitors who paid no caution-money are not included in this total. Among the Commoners were three future Bishops:[1] (1) Wm. Lucy (Com. 1611), "a person of signal candour and virtues requisite in a Churchman," wrote against Hobbes, and was Bp. of St. David's 1660–77. (2) Henry Glemham (Com. 1618) was Dean of Bristol 1660, and Bp. of St. Asaph 1667–70. (3) Gilbert Sheldon (Com. 1614) was one of Falkland's circle, a high-churchman with a tendency to politics. His career belongs rather to the history of All Souls', of which he was warden from 1626. He was made Bp. of London 1660, managed the Savoy Conference, became Archbp. of Canterbury in 1663, and Chancellor of the University in 1667. Sheldon was a man of great practical ability and force; Trinity

[1] Wood assigns to the College Hugh Gore, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore 1666–89. As he was a Dorsetshire man, this is not improbable, but there is no evidence in the college books or the matriculation register.

College was one of the institutions which shared his generosity. Among Cavalier leaders, besides the Cravens, Musgrave, and Napier, the following may be mentioned: (1) Thomas, Lord Wentworth of Nettlested, and his brother Henry (Comm. 1602). The latter became a major-general of Charles I., and was killed in 1644. The former, created Earl of Cleveland in 1626, was one of the King's most practical and daring generals; distinguished himself at Cropredy Bridge and Newbury in 1644, and was ruined by fines and imprisonments. (2) His son, Thomas Lord Wentworth (Com. 1628) served under Goring in the West, and was present at the Battle of Worcester; but he was more successful as a negotiator for Charles II. when in exile, and as the first Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Guards, which he organised at Dunkirk. (3) Sir Harvey Bagot (Com. 1608) was member for Staffordshire, and created a baronet in 1627. His sons Sir Edward and Harvey came up in 1633, and a grandson in 1667. (4) Sir Thos. Glemham (Com. 1610) was M.P. for Reigate and Aldeburgh, and commanded for the King in York, Carlisle, and Oxford, 1642–6; in 1648 he assisted Sir Ph. Musgrave to seize Carlisle. (5) Sir Christopher Lewkener (Com. 1614) represented Midhurst and Chichester, and was a colonel in the Royalist army. (6) Sir Bryan Palmes (Com. 1615) was M.P. for Stamford and Aldborough, and raised a regiment for the King in 1641. (7) Sir Henry Blount (Com. 1615) was well known as a traveller in Turkey and North Africa, and his narrative of his voyage in the Levant is well written. He was at York, Edgehill, and Oxford with Charles I.; but acted on committees under the

Commonwealth. Aubrey knew him as a man about town, and a great "shammer" or practical joker after the Restoration; but calls him

'a gentleman of a very clear judgement, great experience, much contemplation, not of very much reading, of great foresight into government. His conversation is admirable. When he was young he was a great collector of bookes. . . . I remember 20 yeares since he inveighed much against sending youths to the universities, because they learnt there to be debaucht; and that the learning that they learned there they were to unlearne again, as a man that is buttoned or laced too hard, must unbutton before he can be at his ease."

(8) Sir Edward Fitton (Com. 1629) was second baronet of Gawsworth, and died at the siege of Bristol in 1643. (9) Sir Edward Bishop, 2nd Bart. of Parham (Com. 1619), was governor of Arundel Castle 1643, and M.P. for Steyning and Bramber. (10) Sir Edward Ford of Harting (Com. 1621) raised forces in Sussex and commanded at Arundel in 1642; he was a clever writer on hydraulics and finance. (11) Sir Wm. Morton (Com. 1621) was governor of Sudeley Castle in 1644; under Chas. II. he was justice of the King's Bench, 1665–72. (12) Sir Thos. Whitmore (Com. 1628) sat in the Long Parliament for Bridgenorth till disabled in 1644. (13) Guilford Slingsby (Com. 1629) was M.P. for Carysfort, secretary to Strafford, and vice-admiral of Munster. (14) Allen Apsley (Com. 1630) was governor of Exeter and Barnstaple, and M.P. for Thetford in 1661. (15) Sir Wm. Smith (Com. 1634) was M.P. for Winchelsea 1640–4, and governor of Chepstow Castle;

in 1661 he was made a baronet, and represented Buckingham 1661–78.

The Parliamentarian side was also well represented.[1] Ireton was succeeded as lieutenant-general in Ireland by another Trinity man, EDMUND LUDLOW (Com. 1634), whose life and "Memoirs" are also part of English history. The author of "Regicides no Saints" illustrates his "gruff positive humour" by transferring to him, on the authority of Seth Ward, the undergraduate's part in the story of Kettell's illustration between formal and material truth.[2] WILLIAM HOOK (Com. 1618) was a noted puritan preacher in Devonshire and Massachusetts, and was closely connected with the Independents in New England 1640–64; he was chaplain to Cromwell from 1656. SIR RICHARD NEWDIGATE (Com. 1618) was counsel for the 11 members impeached by Fairfax in 1647; he was made justice of the upper bench in 1654, but under Charles II. became chief justice of the upper bench and M.P. for Tamworth. GASPAR HICKES (Com. 1621) was a puritan clergyman in Cornwall and London, who was a member of the Westminster Assembly; but he lost his benefice in 1662 and was prosecuted in 1670. WILLIAM LAURENCE (Com. 1631) represented the Isle of

[1] GEORGE CAMPION (Sch. 1605–12), "a young forward Bachelaur," deserves special mention, since the "treasonable passages in his Disputation in Austens," for which he was forced to recant in 1609, consisted in the proposition that "it was lawful for a subject in cause of Religion to forsake his Prince and take up arms against him." "Which matter being soon after buzzed about the University, and at length to be spread about the court, the Chancellor checkt the Proctors for suffering such a beardless person pragmatically to touch upon such matters" (Wood, Hist. and Ant., ed. Gutch, ii. 299).

[2] v. Clark's Aubrey, ii. 21, and Firth's Ludlow's Memoirs, i. 10.

Wight and Newport in 1656–9, and was a judge in Scotland. THOMAS CROMPTON (Com. 1614) was member for Staffordshire continuously from 1647 to 1659. JAMES HARRINGTON (Com. 1629), though he served under Lord Craven, and faithfully attended Charles I. at Holmby House, Carisbrook, Hurst Castle, and Whitehall, was theoretically a democrat. He published his political theories in 1656 in the "Oceana," probably the most remarkable work on government ever produced by an Englishman, and established his "Rota Club" in 1659. At the Restoration he was imprisoned, and his book was burnt at Oxford in 1683; he lived in obscurity and semi-imbecility till his death in 1677, visited only by a few faithful friends such as Aubrey.

Nor were the commoners deficient in writers. JOHN ANDREWES (servitor 1602), a Wiltshire clergyman, besides various religious works, published a curious satire called "The Anatomie of Basenesse, or the Foure Quarters of a Knave." JOHN FLAVEL (Com. 1611), "the forwardest youth in the house for his quick and smart disputations in logic and philosophy," was made one of the first scholars and fellows of Wadham College, and wrote on "Logical Method." ARTHUR NEWMAN (adm. 1614) was a minor poet and satirist. HENRY GELLIBRAND (Com. 1616) was "good for little a great while, till at last it happened accidentally that he heard a geometrie lecture." He was astronomy professor in Gresham College, published a puritan almanac, for which he was cited by Laud, and works on Trigonometry and Navigation. SIR EDWARD BYSSHE (Com. 1629) sat in Parliament under Chas. I., Cromwell, and Chas. II., for Bletchingley, Reigate, Galton, and Bletchingley, was garter king of

arms 1643–60 and Clarencieux 1646–79, collected books and wrote on heraldry. ARTHUR WILSON (Com. 1631) was sent up to Trinity by a patron, the Earl of Essex, and "had all the accommodations which the house or the publique libraries could give mee," disputed about absolute monarchy with Chillingworth and the "Canterburian faction," but found "the debauchery of the university burdensome in this my retirement." He wrote some good comedies, such as the "Inconstant Lady," and a partisan "Life and Reign of James I." SIR JOHN DENHAM (adm. 1631) was

"the dreamingest young fellow and would game extremely; when he had played away all his money, he would play away his father's wrought rich gold cappes,"

says Aubrey. He

"had borrowed money of Mr. Whistler the recorder, and after a great while the recorder askt him for it again. Mr. Denham laught at him, and told him he never intended that. The recorder acquainted the President, who at a lecture in the chapel rattled him and told him, 'Thy father (judge) haz hanged many an honester man.'"

He became a cavalier and a poet; his poems, such as "The Sophy" and "Coopers Hill," are of some importance. He was made surveyor-general of works to Charles II., died 1669, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Last, but not least, JOHN AUBREY, the most delightful of antiquaries and biographists, was admitted in 1642. His first experience was

"Peace. Lookt through Logique and some Ethique. But now Bellona thundered, and as a cleare skie is sometimes suddenly overstretch with a dismall cloud and

thunder, so was this serene peace by the Civill warres through the factions of those times; vide Homer's Odyssey."

"In August following my father sent for me home for feare. In February following, with much adoe I gott my father to lett me to beloved Oxon againe, then a garrison pro rege. . . . In Aprill, I fell sick of the small pox at Trinity College; and when I recovered, after Trinity weeke, my father sent for me into the country again. . . ."

"Novemb. 6 [1646]. I returned to Trinity College in Oxon again to my great joy; was much made of by the fellowes; had their learned conversation, lookt on books, musique. Here . . . I enjoy'd the greatest felicity of my life (ingeniose youths, as rosebudds, imbibe the morning dew) till Dec. 1648."

Aubrey wrote rambling histories of Surrey and Wilts, and drew up for the use of Wood a series of biographical notes which for vividness of description and raciness of style have never been surpassed. Wood (Life, ii. 117) most ungratefully describes him as "a shiftless person, roving and magotie-headed, and sometimes little better than crased;" but his memory for details, especially about members of his old college, is surprisingly accurate, and his sense of what is worth preserving more discriminating than that of Wood. For about fifty years he lived about town, and came across the most interesting Oxford men of his day, picking up from his older friends all sorts of information that would otherwise have perished.

Two names of great interest must conclude this list. Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore (Com. 1621), made the acquaintance at Trinity of John Lewgar, B.D. (Com. 1616). Baltimore, though he never set foot in America, was the real founder of the palatinate province

of Maryland, of which he was hereditary proprietary; and Lewgar was to be the legislator of the colony. In Oct. 1632 the "Ark" and the "Dove" conveyed 128 settlers in charge of Leonard and George Calvert; they were mostly Roman Catholics, and took on board two Jesuits at Cowes. The Virginia Company furiously opposed the new charter, and the first years of the new settlement were marked by difficulties of all kinds; even the practical toleration, which Calvert desired in the interests of his own religion, was nearly upset by a quarrel with the Jesuits, though the provincial, Richard Blount, once fellow of Trinity, had originally assisted Baltimore. The assembly of 1637–8 established the principle of legislation by the freemen. Lewgar was secretary to the governor, and was also a Roman Catholic, but strongly supported the supremacy of the civil law against the claims of the Jesuits to act in the name of the "Holy Church." The Jesuits were eventually pacified; and in 1649 the Maryland assembly passed the famous Act of Religious Toleration as the result of a compromise between the Puritans and the Catholics. After many other troubles, both at home and in Maryland, Lord Baltimore died in 1675. John Lewgar had returned to England, and died in the Great Plague, "by too much exposing of himself in helping and relieving poor Rom. Catholics."

The middle of the 17th century was a period when men who would not ordinarily have been distinguished were brought into prominence by the general disturbance of society; but it cannot be doubted that Trinity College had more than its share of capable men, who must have stimulated one another by argument and

discussion, if not by interest in the formal studies of the time. When the muniment rooms of old country houses are thoroughly ransacked, something more may be known of how they lived before the flood; but possibly undergraduates' home letters were always mostly about ways and means. Sir George Evelyn (Com. 1634), the elder brother of the amiable diarist,[1] and M.P. for Haslemere 1645–48 and 1661–78, and for Surrey 1678–81 and 1688–9, sent to his father on 26 Sept. 1636 a well-written account of Laud's reception of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, with such observations as that the Play at Christ Church on the Calming of the Passions "was generallie misliked of the Court because it was so grave, but especially because they understood it not." But the news-letter is evidently intended to put the parent in a good humour for furnishing supplies:

"Wth the 30 li. you sent me I have furnished me with those necessarys I wanted, & have made me two suits, one of them being a blacke satin doublett and black cloth breeches, the other a white satin doublett & scarlett hoase; the scarlett hoase I shall wear but little heare, but it will be comely for me to weare in the country. Yo^{r} desire was that I should be as frugall in my expenses as I could, and I assure you, honoured Sir, I have been; I have spent none of it in riot or toyes. You hoped it would be sufficient to furnish me and discharge my battailes for this Quarter, but I feare it will not, therefore I humbly entreat you to send me 6 li. I know what I have already, wth this

[1] George Evelyn sent up his son and heir John in 1669, to join John Evelyn's son John (adm. 1668), who is known as a writer on arboriculture.

I send for, wilbe more than enough to discharge these months, but I know not what occasion may fall out."

Sir Robert More, Knt., of Loseley, wrote to his son, Sir Poynings More (Com. 1622) that he might join the "Dauncing School," and pay his entrance fee with the 20*s.* returned to him on giving a piece of plate, but advising him

"to learne to ciphere and cast accounts readily, being a matter vsefull to you and of no great difficultie, for which, as for other good learning, recommending you to the care of your tutour, to whom I would be remembered by you, I committe you to the protection of the Allmightie."[1]

The son's attempts to make a good impression seem to have been too ambitious in style, since the next letter exhorts him to

"study rather to expresse his letters with good sense clearly and plainely then to affect and hunt after quaint words & phrases."

In 1603 the plague raged in Oxford so severely that there was no Michaelmas Term; the foundation fled to Garsington and spent the commons of absent members in repairing the rectory house. The plague of 1625 drove the 'Vain Parliament' down to Oxford, where it sat Aug. 1–12, the Privy Council ordering the Colleges

"to be freed from the Fellows, Masters of Arts, & Students, and all the rooms and lodgings therein reserved, to the end that the Members of both Houses may be received and lodged with the best convenience that may be."

[1] A. J. Kempe, Loseley MSS., p. xix., and Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, vii. 674 *b*.

Trinity made great preparations, bought a special book, "in quo inscribenda erant nomina procerum parliamentariorum," spent £3 4*s.* on new table cloths and napkins, and turned all the rooms upside down, storing the superfluous beds in the Grove. No doubt the old Trinity men who were burgesses or peers had first choice; a memorial of the visit survived in a *Poculum Parliamentarium*, for which the bursars paid 7*s.* 6*d.* "ultra illud quod donatum est"; but the king got it in the end with the rest.

The College was fairly affluent in the year 1638–9, when the set of *computi* is interrupted; the Wroxton lease was renewed that year at an increased rent and a fine; the total revenue was about £600, and there was a good balance. But Kettell was not to die in peace. He "waved" the apparently harmless "Protestation" imposed by the Long Parliament in Feb. 1642

"to defend the true reformed Protestant religion, expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery and Popish innovations, his majesty's royall person and estate, as also the power and privileges of Parliament, and the lawfull rights and liberties of the subject;"

but, says Wood, for no other reason than that he was an old man and had taken many oaths already. He put off Lord Saye and Sele about the decorations of the ante-chapel when the Parliamentary forces occupied Oxford for 10 days in Sept. 1642; he saw Oxford garrisoned as the headquarters of the Royalists after Edgehill, the University utterly disorganised and the treasury and buttery emptied of money and plate. He still held

CHAPTER VI

DISORGANISATION AND RECOVERY

Presidents: Hannibal Potter, D.D., 1643–8; Robert Harris, D.D., 1648–58; Rev. Wm. Hawes, M.A., 1658–9; Seth Ward, D.D., 1659–60; Hannibal Potter, D.D., 1660–4.

THE visitation of Oxford by the Parliamentary Commission in 1648 was a drastic measure so far as individuals were concerned; but the Colleges had been far more nearly ruined by the Royalists. At Trinity, where from 20 to 30 commoners were admitted annually, the fall in this number to 3 in 1643 and 0 in 1644 and 1645 tells its own tale. The foundation was just kept going: 3 fellows and 6 scholars had been elected on 1 June 1643; in the next two years only one fellow and 2 scholars are recorded. From Nov. 1642 to June 1646 the city was garrisoned for the King, and for many months actually besieged. The few remaining students kept up a pretence of the old corporate life in Trinity;

"till Oxford was surrendered we sang the reading psalmes on Sundays, holy dayes, and holy day eves; and one of the scholars of the house sang the ghospell for the day in the hall, at the latter end of dinner, and concluded, *Sic desinit Evangelium secundum beatum Johannem (or etc.): tu autem, Domine, miserere nostri.*"

The Registers are defective, and most of the accounts of 1639–51 have disappeared; possibly they were really carried off to the country by Josias Howe, "a very great cavalier and loyalist and a most ingeniose man," who preached before the King a sermon on Ps. iv. 7, of which an edition of 30 copies was printed in red letters. As late as 1651, the "*Billa Petitionis*," or arrears owing from rents and battels, amounted to £1385, though all the old leases were about to expire and must have been renewed. The College was soon heavily in debt: the benevolent lessee of the Stopesley tithe, Sir Robert Napier of Luton Hoo,[1] lent £160 for 6 years; his son, Sir John, and his grandson were of the College, as well as Sir Robert Napier of Puncknoll, and Sir Nathaniel of More Crichel, and others of that family. The College on the other hand remitted £45 in 1648 to Sir Thos. Pope, who represented the Founder at Wroxton. Two receipts in the archives pasted onto the back of the circular letter headed "Charles R.," still testify to unrecompensed loyalty.

Novemb^{r} ye 2 1642

I Matthew Brodley Paymaster generall of his Ma^{ts} Armie have Rec^{d} of the Wor^{pll} the President and Fellowes of Trinity Colledg in Oxford the fulle Somme of Two hundred Poundes for his Maties Vse and Service

I say Rec^{d} } 200^{li}

This Sir Robt. Napier and his Trinity son fitted up the chape at Luton Hoo with the magnificent Perpendicular oak carving, figured in Shaw's "Antiquities of Luton Chapel." It was traditionally supposed to have been placed in Tyttenhanger chapel by Sir Thos. Pope; but was more probably brought from a disused guild chapel at Luton parish Church.

The letter for the plate, dated 6 Jan. 164$\frac{2}{3}$, speaks confidently of the affection of the College and the gratitude of the King, and promises repayment at the rate of *5s.* an ounce for white, and *5s. 6d.* for gilt plate. Trinity stands fifth, next to Magdalen, All Souls, Exeter, and Queen's; but 5 colleges are omitted from the extant list of amounts contributed.

January the 19th 1642
Recd of the President & Fellowes of
Trinity Colledge in Oxford in plate
for his Mats service as followeth

In white plate	130li	08ox	15d
In guilt plate	043	10	15

Wm Parkhurst

Nothing was left but the chalice and paten, the two communion flagons, and (if it was then College property) Kettell's little chalice or cup.

Hannibal Potter, D.D. (Sch. 1609, Fell. 1613), had been many years the senior fellow, and was admitted president by Bp. Curll, to whom he was chaplain, 8 Aug. 1643. He was the son of an old Trinity man, Richard Potter (Sch. 1571, Fell. 1579–87), who was beneficed in Somerset and Wilts. Aubrey says little about him, though he was much attached to the quaint old scholar, Francis Potter (Com. 1609), who shared his brother's college chamber for 27 years, and

"lookt the most like a monk, or one of the pastors of the old time, that I ever sawe one. . . . His discourse was admirable, and all new and unvulgar. . . . He was no great read man; he had a competent knowledge in the Latin, Greeke, and Hebrew tongues, but not a critique. Greeke

he learn'd by Montanus's Inter-lineary Testament after he was a man, without a grammar, and then he read Homer. He understood only common Arithmetique, and never went farther in Geometrie than the first six bookes of Euclid; but he had such an inventive head, that with this foundation he was able to do great matters in the mechaniques, and to solve phaenomena in naturall philosophy."

He seems really to have been a clever practical mechanician, invented a graduated compass, theorised on the transfusion of blood, and was an original fellow of the Royal Society. At Oxford he had devoted himself to the Number of the Beast, on which he took his B.D. degree, and published in 1642 a wonderful[1] "Interpretation of the Number 666," in which by taking 25 as its "appropinque" square root in parallelism to 12 and 144 as the numbers of the New Jerusalem, he identifies Antichrist satisfactorily with the Pope, explaining that Rome has 25 cardinals and 25 gates, St. Peter's 25 altars, and the Creed of Pius IV. 25 clauses, as against the 12 apostles, 12 gates, 12 clauses of the Apostles' Creed, etc.

From Potter's election till the surrender of Oxford the College has no history. It may be supposed that some of the Trinity cavaliers, who are known to have been in Oxford during the siege, such as Lord Cleveland, Glemham, Lewkener, Denham, and Palmes, would establish themselves in their old rooms. Certainly some members of the foundation enlisted as volunteers in response to the King's invitations in 1643 and 1644.

[1] Joseph Mead in 1637 thought it calculated to "make some of your German speculatives half wild," and Pepys in 1666 found it "mighty ingenious."

GEORGE BATHURST, B.D. (Sch. 1626, Fell. 1631), studied science in 1642 with the famous Dr. Wm. Harvey, with whom "he had a hen to hatch eggs in his chamber, which they dayly opened to discern the progress and way of generation." Wood notes that

"in the war time, when the Scholars kept guard at the Holybush, some did meet there to read to the others. Some had formall Disputations, and George Bathurst of Trin. Coll. was commonly moderator." (Hist. and Ant. ed Gutch ii. 488 n.)

But he died in 1644 of wounds received in the defence of Farringdon. SAMUEL CRANFORD (Sch. 1635, Fell. 1640) died at Oxford in 1645, perhaps of wounds or of the plague which broke out that year. WM. BROWNE (Sch. 1635, Fell. 1642) enlisted in the cavalry, and describes in a letter the hot skirmish near Thame in Sept. 1645; but he died Vicar of Farnham, Surrey, in 1669. Many of the scholars, however, must have gone to their work in the trenches or paid their shilling a day for a substitute unwillingly enough, since in 1648 they made no difficulty about submitting to the Visitors: among these was EDWARD WOOD (Sch. 1643) to whom in 1646 his young brother Anthony

"went once or twice in a day to receive instruction, and alwaies spent every afternoon in his chamber, which was a cockle loft over the common gate."

Edward was made Fellow of Merton by the Visitors, and died when Proctor in 1655.

When Oxford was surrendered on 24 June 1646 by the Governor, Sir Thomas Glemham of Trinity, to

Fairfax, under whom Henry Ireton of Trinity was Colonel and Commissary General, it was provided in the treaty that while the University and Colleges and all members of those Corporations are to be "free from Sequestration, Fines, Taxes, and all other molestations whatsoever," and all their buildings to be "preserved from defacing and spoil," yet this promise should not "extend to retard any Reformation thus intended by the Parliament." The Commons made a suspensory order against Elections[1] and Leases; but in other respects observed the undertaking to allow six months before proceeding to "removals," though the Puritan preachers, headed by "Mr. Rob. Harris, Rector of Hanwell, a knave," could not forego for so long the occupation of the University Pulpit, where Presbyterians and Independants assailed the "common enemy," but more often battered one another, "the former, for the most part, preaching nothing but damnation: the others not, but rather for libertie." But such persuasion was useless; and Parliament was eventually forced to resort to the time-honoured plan of a Commission to visit the University and Colleges. Among the 24 Visitors, 5 of whom formed a quorum, were Harris and an old Trinity man, John Packer (Com. 1596); a large committee of Lords and Commons was to hear appeals in London. One of the members was Zouch Tate (Com. at Trinity 1621); M.P. for Northampton 1640–8; he was the proposer of the famous "self-denying ordinance" in 1644. The Visitation Bill was passed 1 May 1647, and the

[1] At Trinity 2 fellows and 3 scholars had been elected on 28 May 1646; before the end of the year 21 commoners entered, paying £4 or £5 each as caution-money.

University was legally under the control of the Visitors till 1658. The proceedings by which they imposed the Solemn League and Covenant, the Negative Oath, and the Ordinances concerning Discipline and Worship, were at times high-handed; but Oxford had fallen into the hands of a fanatically royalist and high church party; and it was impossible to bring it into reasonable harmony with the national feeling without strong measures.

The resistance was conducted with the greatest ingenuity, and was supported by some old Oxford men, such as Selden, who disliked the rule of presbyters as much as that of priests. The President of Trinity and Josias Howe were on the delegacy of 1 June which adopted "certain Reasons called Just Scruples"; and Potter who was a Pro-Vice-Chancellor must have been "at the schools on the 4th June between 9 and 11 in the morn," when the length of Mr. Harris's visitation sermon made his colleagues so late that Dean Fell seized the opportunity of dissolving the Convocation, and meeting the Visitors on his way out, "very civilly moved his cap to them, saying, *Good morrow, gentlemen, 'tis past eleven of the clock.*" For some months both parties played a waiting game, and the Delegates composed evasive answers to suit any form of awkward question; at last Fell was forced to go to London, leaving his keys and books with Potter, who at first, being "a person of a very timorous nature," refused to receive them, but was persuaded by Rd. Baylie, President of St. John's, who with Sheldon organised the obstructive measures. On Oct. 23 Potter made a short speech to Convocation, urging

"that seeing the University was then and like to be under a most grievous affliction, they would as true Christians

and adorers of good learning, take all things patiently and behave themselves without tumult and giving offence."

The Visitors soon found that the simplest course was to tender the plain question, "Do you submit to the authority of Parliament in this Visitation?" and to eject from Oxford all who refused to answer it in the affirmative. Potter attempted to evade, was forced to appear before the Committee in London on Nov. 15, was voted guilty of "high contempt" on 6 Jan. 1648, after counsel, one of whom was Richard Newdigate of Trinity, had been heard in defence of the privileges of the University. He disregarded three several citations, and on April 13 was formally "outed" from his Lodgings,[1] "he himself having for fear receeded," by the Chancellor, Lord Pembroke,[2] who installed in his place one of the Visitors, Robert Harris, who had been created D.D. the previous day. Sheldon was ejected from All Souls the same day by the help of the vindictive Prynne.

The new head, ROBERT HARRIS, was an old[3] man of

[1] Potter lost Garsington as well, and "endured great hardships in a most woeful manner," being soon turned out of a curacy in Somerset given him by Capt. Coleford (possibly Rd. Culliford, Com. 1607), for using the Liturgy (Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, ii. 133), or for "insufficiency" (Neal's Puritans, iii. 389).

[2] "He was a person intolerably choleric and offensive. He was endowed also with such an admirable gift in swearing that I have heard it confidently averred that he excelled in it beyond any person in the courts of K. James or K. Ch. I." (Wood).

[3] "The first came in was Harris; 'twas no worse;
But most mistook him for a Sumpter Horse;
And when they saw his beard, cried without doubt
'Twas one of my Lord's Periwigs hung out."
"An Owle at Athens," 1648.

67, who had come up to Magdalen Hall in 1597. He was a good scholar in Greek and Hebrew, and well known as a preacher and lecturer. When Sir Anthony Cope presented him to Hanwell, Bancroft, who was claiming the turn by lapse, had him examined by Bp. Barlow:

"the *Bishop* being a man active and witty, was glad of the office, falls upon his work, tries his Examinate a little in *Divinity*, but most in other *Learning* and *Greek*, where the *Bishops* strength lay, but so long they both *greeked* it, till at last they were both scoted and to seek of words, whereupon they both fell a-laughing, and so gave up."[1]

Walter Pope remembered him as

"a very eminent preacher, his hair rather white than grey, his speech grave, natural, and pathetical; I never heard any sermons which became the persons who pronounced them so well as his did him."

His parsonage at Hanwell, near Wroxton, had been a favourite resort of the younger puritans in Oxford; in 1642 he had been ejected by the royalist troopers, but was made a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, with the living of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, and in 1646 the rich rectory of Petersfield. Wood, who constantly attacks him as a pluralist, admits that he was "a grave and reverend person to behold, and much esteemed by many for his familiar way of preaching." He seems to have used his almost absolute power in the College with discretion, and to have soon conciliated, probably with aid of Bathurst's influence, those members of the College who, contrary to the usual procedure, were

[1] W. D[urham]'s Life and Death of Dr. R. Harris.

allowed to remain without having submitted; so that "there was ever a fair correspondency."

Wood has an improbable story that in 1649.

"a Painter at Trinity College, pulling down some old boards and shelves, found two bags sealed, and a paper in the mouth of each, which signified that there was an 100li in each Bag. They were covered with dust about half an inch thick, yet Dr. Harris and his wife (solely addicted to money and reformation) presently owned them and said confidently that they were theirs, but *oportet mendacem esse memorem.* For first he had not been there much above half a year, and the bags were so old and overcovered with dust as if they had lain there 40 years. 2. His wife said at first, they were left there by a friend, who desired her to lay up two Bags of an 100li a Bag, but she refused to take any charge of them, yet he told her he would leave them, and so hid them in that place where the painter found them. 3. But on better consideration, Dr. Harris said that he himself laid them there, and 'twas money he had designed for his Daughters, and though no man believed yet this he averred *Verbo Sacerdotis.*"

There is no trace of this story in the College archives;[1] and it may be only a scandalous expansion of an order of 12 May 1648, in the Visitors' Register, which is possibly the last reference to the old "crosses, sensars," etc., disused in 1570.

"Whereas there is found in Trinity Colledge a Box of Plate (as is supposed) belonginge to the Colledge: These

[1] There is an order of the Visitors 27 Oct. 1648, "that the Treasury of Trinity Colledge be broken open by the President & Fellows of the said Colledge." Howe must have taken away the keys as well as the papers.

are from us (the Visitors of this Universitie) to authorise Mr. Unite, Fellow of Trinity Colledge, to take into his custody the said Box of Plate, and safely to keepe it in his hands till further order given by the Visitors."

Harris was an active Visitor 1647-58: he lectured at All Souls, and preached weekly at Garsington; his works, consisting mainly of sermons, were republished in folio in 1654-5; and it may be imagined that the Trinity undergraduates had their full share of the prayer meetings, sermons, and catechisings, all from 2 to 3 hours long, which marked the Puritan *régime*. The Directory was, of course, substituted for the Prayer-book; but no serious attempt was made to stamp out the rites of the Church of England. A congregation met regularly in the room in Canterbury Hall, or the house in Merton Street, of Bathurst's friend, Dr. T. Willis, for service on Sundays and Saints' days, including the administration of the Holy Communion; but Warton's statements about the regular ordinations at Launton by Bp. Skinner, with Bathurst acting as Archdeacon, appear to be based "on the information of the Rev. Mr. Wise," and on that only.

Meanwhile, the government of the College had been in the hands of Matthew Unite (Sch. 1639, Fell. 1643), and Thos. Wilday (Sch. 1642), appointed delegates by the Visitors 30 Sept. 1647. The next order, 4 May 1648, cited all resident members of Trinity (3 fellows, 9 scholars, and 26 commoners) to appear at Merton College, and answer questions. Of these, 26 appeared, and 13, of whom only 2 were scholars, submitted unconditionally. The rest, headed by the only fellow who appeared, John Lydall, either declared

themselves "not satisfied," or submitted, if the Visitors had "an Immediate Commission from the King." One young commoner said that he "never studied State Policie, and therefore cannot give any answere to soe hard questions." Of the absent fellows, Bathurst submitted, two other fellows, Skinner and Radford, refused, on 1 June. Howe and Hawes did not appear. The Visitors prohibited the usual election on Trinity Monday, 29 May, and the disappointed scholars seized the opportunity of celebrating the day, being the Prince's birthday, by a bonfire

"on the Mount in their Grove after 9 at night: the soldiers would have then forced open the gate but could not."

Lydall, with 3 scholars, 9 commoners (including the ingenious one), and 1 servant, had been sentenced to expulsion on 15 May; Skinner, Radford, another commoner, and 2 of the scholars already sentenced, were expelled for "high contempt" on 14 June; and two senior scholars, who never appeared, on 10 Aug. Seven absent fellows and scholars had been reported to the London Committee; and 4 of them, including Howe, were removed for non-appearance, and their names finally erased 15 Jan. 1649. In the same month, the cook, Thos. Welch, was delated and suspended on "articles":

"1: that Hee often said: That the Reformation intended by the Visitors was a deformation; 2: That Hee often drinkes in the Cellar of the Colledge more then Hee puts on for in the Buttery Booke."

It is not clear that all the non-submitters were expelled; certainly some who were actually sentenced,

such as Lydall, were allowed to remain. In the *computus* for 1648, £48 10*s*. was paid out in caution-money returned to the ejected commoners; and nearly £100, got in from the arrears of 1645–8, distributed equitably to the old president, fellows, and scholars. This account is signed by Dr. Harris. All the old festivals, Corpus Christi, Conception of B.V.M., etc., were still observed as days of augmented commons, with the old names. In 1649, the Visitors promoted 2 of the obedient scholars and 1 stranger to fellowships, and 3 commoners and 3 strangers to scholarships; and in the following year appointed 4 more fellows, one from among the old scholars. Finally on 23 May 1651, they passed an order that Trinity and Wadham "are soe reduced as that they are in a fitt capacity to make their owne elections in a statutable way"; but it is difficult to ascertain exactly what was done, since the notarial attestations do not recommence till 1655.

The inner life of the Society must have been greatly affected by the general orders of the Visitors, such as that which called attention to the requirement of Latin or Greek for all public conversation, and that which compelled even gentlemen-commoners to perform all the usual exercises. The country gentlemen, who now sent up their sons in large numbers, did not intend the University to drift into the old idleness and disorder, caused mainly by the proximity to the Court at London and Woodstock, and aggravated by the war. Among other reforms, the suppers which were commonly held in "taverns, ale-houses, or victualling houses on fasting nights," when the colleges did not provide a regular hall-dinner, were now prohibited, and college suppers were

started. Coffee-houses were opened, in which gatherings took place for scientific discussions or music. The Restoration produced a recrudescence of drunkenness, and Bathurst as Vice-Chancellor in 1674 concerted measures with Ormonde, then Chancellor, to restrict the number of licences. No doubt the bolder spirits occasionally rebelled, like the Trinity *Terrae Filius*,[1] the chartered jester at the Act, who was rebuked, and then arrested by the courageous and athletic Independant, John Owen, Dean of Christ Church.[2] A payment in 1651 of 3*s*. "tonsori pro equo conducto tempore belli Wigornensis," looks as if the College was anxious to have news how things were going; but other entries of interest are of a pacific character, such as a donation of 11*s*. to an "excogitatori novae et catholicae scribendi formulae," and a sum of £20 spent in 1657 "pro metis reparandis et pili ludio," which, but for the large amount, looks like an expenditure on a fives-court. A good deal was spent about this time for arbours and seats in the grove and president's garden, for watering young trees, and protecting them with brushwood, planting flowers and aromatic herbs, and for a "rota tonsatili in arbusto," whatever that may be. Loggan's view shows that besides the large area full of trees, there were two small gardens, the Bursary Garden and one

[1] Possibly Thos. Pittis, B.A. Trin., and M.A. Linc., who was expelled in 1658 for scurrility in this capacity.

[2] "At length the Doctor, seeing him obstinate, sent his beadles to pull him down, upon which the scholars interposed and would not suffer them to come near him. Then the Doctor resolved to pull him down himself. His friends dissuaded him for fear the scholars should do him some mischief, but he replied, 'I will not see the University so trampled on'; and thereupon he pulled him down, and sent him to Bocardo." (Owen's Works, Life, p. xi.)

in the N.W. corner, neatly laid out with espaliers, borders, and a sundial, while the President also had two gardens with walks and borders, one of which was apparently occupied and owned by a raven.

Of the Trinity men who were admitted during this period the most distinguished was NICHOLAS STRATFORD (Sch. 1652, Fell. 1656–67), who was Warden of the Collegiate Church of Manchester 1667–84, where he successfully restored the services of the Church of England, revised the statutes, and increased the revenues, while he procured large benefactions for the poor of the town; he was also Prebendary of Lincoln 1670, and Dean of St. Asaph 1674. In 1684 he was driven out of Manchester by the Tory party; and in 1689 was made Bp. of Chester, where he founded a Charity School. As a bishop he supported the early church-societies, resided in his diocese, and attended to his duties, till his death in 1707. He was a contributor to the rebuilding of the Chapel. DANIEL WHITBY (Sch. 1655, Fell. 1663–71) was chaplain to Bp. Seth Ward, and prebendary and precentor of Salisbury. He was a voluminous controversialist against the Church of Rome, but deserves more credit for his attempts in the "Protestant Reconciler" to make terms for the dissenters. ABRAHAM CAMPION (Sch. 1658, Fell. 1665–77) was the first senior proctor whose ability to deal with ethical questions was presumed to be so great that he was made Whyte's professor of Moral Philosophy; he died Dean of Lincoln in 1701. WM. RICHARDS (Sch. 1661, Fell. 1666–75) was a well-known Non-juror at Newcastle, who published a humorous account of a journey to Wales called "Wallography; or, the Briton described."

THOS. STAYNOE (Sch. 1661, Fell. 1667–81) was Archdeacon of Caermarthen and of Brecknock, heavily beneficed in London, and chaplain to William and Mary. WM. HOPKINS (Com. 1663) published an edition of the "Book of Ratramn." SAMUEL PARKER (adm. as B.A. from Wadham 1660) possessed considerable ability as a writer on philosophical and theological subjects, ecclesiastical history and political science; but he is better known as the unhappy Bishop of Oxford, who supported the illegalities of James II., and was intruded into the presidency of Magdalen. RICHARD REEVE (Com. 1662) had a varied career, since he became a Roman Catholic in 1667, was master of Magdalen College School 1670–3, when he retired to Douay and became a Benedictine monk; then taught in England for many years, published Latin verses, and helped to translate Wood's great work into Latin. THOS. SALMON (Com. 1664) is remarkable as a writer on History, Harmony, and the Order of the Garter, and as the proposer in 1672 of the modern octave system in music. JOHN NAPIER, afterwards member for Bedfordshire and a baronet, was admitted in 1655 with a private tutor, Marcus Francke, B.D., late fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; but few instances of this practice are found after the Restoration. SIR FRANCIS WINNINGTON (Com. 1655) was a Solicitor-General under Charles II.

Wood's notice of Samuel Parker contains a maliciously written sketch of him as a pious Puritan undergraduate c. 1656, who led

"a strict and religious life, fasted, prayed with other students weekly together, and for their refection feeding on thin broth, made of oatmeal and water only, they were commonly

called *grewellers*. He and they did also usually go every week or oftener to an house possessed by Bess Hampton an old and crooked maid that drove the trade of laundrey; who being from her youth very much given to the presbyterian religion had frequent meetings for the godly party, esp. for those that were her customers. . . . Our author Parker was so zealous and constant . . . that he was esteemed one of the preciousest young men in the University." But he soon became "chaplain to a nobleman and a great droller on the Puritans."

The aged President, attended by Bathurst and Willis in his last illness, in which, his biographer says elegantly, "he spit up those lungs which he had wasted in the Pulpit," died 12 Dec. 1658, and was buried in the old chapel, where Bathurst erected a very laudatory epitaph declaring him to be "aeternum celebrandus," which phrase, says Wood, he subsequently deleted from the copy in the "History and Antiquities." It is curious that neither this monument nor any other in the chapel was preserved when it was rebuilt.

There must have been some doubt as to the proper method of providing a successor. There was no Bishop of Winchester to choose one of two fellows nominated by the governing body; the Visitors had ceased to act; and a scheme elaborated in 1657 for appointing official visitors to all the Colleges, in which Trinity and Queen's were assigned to the Warden of the Cinque Ports, had fallen through. The very day of Harris's death, the Independant President of Magdalen, Thos. Goodwin, "commonly called Nine-caps, because having a cold head was forced to wear so many," wrote in haste to Secretary Thurloe to influence Richard Cromwell, who

had just succeeded Oliver as Chancellor of the University; this impudent letter is preserved in Rawlinson MSS. A. 62, p. 563.

"Right Honorable! I send this by an Express. Dr. Harrys of Trinity College Oxon beeing now dead. It is a Sequestration, The old President beeing alive, And so belongs Vnto my Lord. and This is to bee the first Experiment of places falling Vnder That distinction from others where ye former Heads sequestered are Dead, in wch case you have permitted the fellowes to choose. Not in This. I made it long since a great request to my good old Lord for some Headship in the Vniversity for Mr. Thomas Cracroft Master of Arts of eleaven yeares, wch in the whole in ye Vniversitye according to ye ordinary account is 18 yeares standing. I have given y^r^ Secp. and my Lord & this Lord that now is His Character of His beeing a Schollar and a spirituall vsefull man as any other Amongst Vs. Besides Hee hath been Proctor (and a laudable carriage therein is esteemed a great stepp to an Headship or other preferment), also a Tutour successively vnto three Noblemen, & vice president Two yeares Together in our College. Y^r^ Honour may remember what you were pleased to expresse as to mediate on His behalfe. I allso spake Twice to my Lord about it and Twice Named him personally vnto his Highnes as I had often doon & sometymes in y^r^ Hearing to my good Lord y^t^ is gone. His Highnes y^t^ now is was pleased to promise me Twice for him. My earnest request is, that, the most speedye & effectuall cause may be taken to prevent the College from a choyce (wch it is certayn they will attempt & then dispute it) by my Lords putting in this man by ye Broad seale (wch course you were pleased to pitch upon w^n^ I spake last about it). The gentleman himself is not so much confir-

mate in health as to waite upon my Lord in it, especially as publiquely to appear, but Mr. Panton a godly man agitates it for him. S^r^ I wrott by Mr. Nye the state of my spiritt & affayres vnto you, & did leave boy Bat: & this business & all my concernments that are afor you perfectly in y^r^ Hands & so rest

y^r^ most obliged friend & Servt

THO. GOODWIN

Dec. 12 1658

The Protector however selected one of the fellows, WILLIAM HAWES, M.A. (Sch. 1637, Fell. 1642), who was admitted president 27 Dec. 1658, with the rectory of Garsington. He had been absent at the Visitation, and his name had been reported to the London Committee. He was living with Sir Wm. Fleetwood in Woodstock Park at the time of the disturbances there; but must have returned and submitted, as no steps were taken against him. He figures as the authority for a few good stories in Aubrey's Memoirs, but nothing else is known about him, except that he was a "loyal, learned, and modest person." He broke a vein in his lungs, resigned his office on 12 Sept. 1659, died 2 days later while his successor was being elected, "in ipso admissionis articulo;" he was buried at Garsington.

This curious death-bed resignation was probably prompted by a decision on the part of the fellows to make an illegal election, and to get it over before the feeble Protector could claim to select in default of a Bp. of Winchester.[1] Bathurst, though the ablest of the

[1] They actually went through the form of nominating Edward Bathurst, B.D. (Sch. 1628–37), the ejected vicar of Cropredy, with Ward, and then themselves selected the latter, "ipso praeside animam tunc efflante" (Reg. A. 88*b*, 89).

fellows, cannot have been acceptable to the presbyterian majority, but managed to bring in a personal friend, SETH WARD, a Cambridge man incorporated at Wadham, who was "very well acquainted and beloved" in the College. He was a native of Buntingford, scholar of Sidney Sussex College in 1633, where he taught himself mathematics and astronomy, and fellow in 1640. He was imprisoned and ejected for refusing to take the Covenant in 1644, and was residing as tutor with Lord Wenman at Thame, when Sir Chas. Scarborough recommended him in 1649 to John Greaves, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy,[1] who wished to resign his place to a competent mathematician instead of waiting for the Visitors to turn him out. He lived in Wadham under the protection of the scientific Warden, Dr. Wilkins, and there assisted at the early meetings of the Royal Society with Bathurst, Boyle, Wren, Petty, and other eminent men; he was known as a good lecturer and preacher, took the degree of D.D. in 1654, and is said to have been elected principal of Jesus. His connexion with Trinity was dissolved after less than a year by the Restoration;

"'tis true he left Trin. Coll. and Oxford *ἑκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θύμῳ*, for he was contented with his condition, and so pleased with a Collegiate life, and the charms of that sweet place, that he would willingly have remained there the rest of his

[1] Savile's first nominee, Dr. John Bainbridge, was also a Cambridge man, and no scholar; his notice of Lectures "de Polis and Axis" produced the rude epigram:

"Dr. Bainbridge came from Cambridge
To read de Polis et *Axis*:
Let him go back again like a dunce as he came,
And learn a new Syntaxis."

days; and in order to that, proffered Dr. Potter an equivalent, which was refused. . . . Yet, had he kept that headship, I mean been buried alive in Trin. Coll. hiding his glorious light under that bushel, Exeter and Sarum could not have boasted of so good a Bp. and benefactor; the Church of England had wanted such a pillar and asserter of its rights, and the poor the houses and benefactions he has provided for them; he might have published more treatises in divinity and mathematics, but he could not possibly have done so much good."

He soon got fresh preferment as Dean of Exeter, and in 1662 was made Bishop by the interest of the western country-gentlemen "at that criticall time when the House of Commons were the King's darlings; this was the first time that ever a bishop was made by the House of Commons." In 1667 he was translated to Salisbury, recovered the Chancellorship of the Garter for that see in 1671, and died in 1689. In repairing his cathedrals and reorganising his dioceses he was one of the most energetic of the Restoration bishops, though inclined to persecute the dissenters; he founded the "College of Matrons" at Salisbury, an almshouse at Buntingford, and six scholarships at Christ's College, Cambridge, and published many works on astronomy, geometry, and philosophy. A fine portrait representing him in the robes of the Garter is in the College Hall.

A page of the Register testifies to the uncertainty that prevailed in 1660. Malachi Harris, a son of the late president, had held the college living of Navestock, and on his resignation the fellows wished to present John Pettipher, who had been made a fellow by the Visitors in 1650. Accordingly, on 13 March 1660,

they addressed a letter in English "to the hon^{ble} the Commissioners for the approbacion of publique preachers or to others whoesoever hath power to admitt of this o^{r} presentation"; on 3 Sept. they used the old Latin formula to present the same man "reverendo in Christo Patri ac D^{no} D^{no} Episcopo London, vel ejus vicario in spiritualibus generali aut aliae personae cuicunque hanc nostram presentationem admittendi ius et potestatem habenti." Pettipher also got a lease of the Navestock Rectory, which was held so long by successive incumbents that the great tithes and the vicarial tithes became inextricably mixed.

At the Restoration it was inevitable that "justice must be now done, statutes be put in force, and men have their right, and enjoy their places which they had been deprived of for these 12 years last past." On 4 June the deposed Chancellor, the Marquis of Hertford, wrote to the leading royalists of the University, and on 23 July a Royal Commission was issued to effect the necessary changes. The commission was read in Convocation, and "the auditory having given a humm, the Registrary asked the Academians whether they would accept it, to which some not many answered Placet." Hannibal Potter was reinstated on 3 Aug. by the old Bishop of Oxford, Robert Skinner, with whom he had been elected fellow of Trinity in 1613; and Josias Howe resumed his place as Senior Fellow. It does not appear that any one was ejected either then or in 1662; and the total cost of the proceedings was 30*s.* for a pair of gloves for the Visitor. In 1661 Bathurst, who had been allowed by Harris in 1653 to take the degree of D.M. instead of that of

D.D., consulted Bishop Brian Duppa, who dispensed him altogether on the ground that under the Commonwealth the divinity degrees were

"generally abused and the wearers of that holy Badge contemned by the bad men in those worst of tymes (wch I hope can never bee soe badd againe), and rather kikt back than set forwards to any preferm^{t}."

Payments to the King's trumpeters occur nearly every year; in 1661 £5 is subscribed for the King's reception, and in 1662 the cook gets 2*s.* 3*d.* "pro fascibus ad accendendos Ignes Festivos." In 1663 the College procured copies of various deeds, such as the *Inquisitio post mortem* of the Founder's estates; Bathurst was given a power of attorney to collect "debts, rents, and summes of money," and took with him to London a letter to the influential Lord Craven, which strikes the keynote of his policy.

May it please your L^{p}

Vnderstandinge by the Bearer hereof Dr. Bathurst (a member of our Society) that he hath occasion to make some addresse to your L^{p}, we do most gladly embrace this opportunity of presentinge by him our most humble duty & service. Those monuments of your L^{ps} piety and Munificence bestowed long since upon our Library, which are daily in our eyes and handes, will not suffer us to forgett, and (we hope) have taught us better thinges then not to acknowledge with all thankfullnesse how much wee owe to soe noble a Patron. And as we justly account it one of the cheifest gloryes of our College to have beene once adorned by a person of such eminence, so we shall alwayes endeavour to approve ourselves not unworthy of your L^{ps} owninge,

or uncapable of your favour; and with our earnest prayers for your Health and hapinesse, ever remaine

Your Honours most humble & most obliged servants
The Praesident & Fellowes of Trinity College Oxon.

Dr. Potter died in Aug. or Sept. 1664, and was buried in the Chapel. Bathurst naturally succeeded to the presidency, though Howe was also nominated *pro forma;* he was conducted with some state to Farnham, and presented to the new Visitor, Bishop George Morley, who had been at Oxford in July, and had been received at Trinity with a speech from Daniel Danvers, D.M., and an entertainment costing £4 8*s.* 4*d.* "pro vino et poculis vitreis."

CHAPTER VII

RECONSTRUCTION

President: Ralph Bathurst, D.M., 1664–1704.

THE new president, Ralph Bathurst, was a man of great ability and energy, who might, under more favourable circumstances, have been a pioneer of educational reform. As it was, he was well known for his interest in literature and science as well as for the industry and liberality with which he promoted the material interests of his College. He was connected with Trinity by birth, as his grandmother, Mrs. Villiers, became the wife of Dr. Kettell, having already

"two beautifull daughters, co-heires. The eldest, whom severall of good estate would gladly have wedded, he would needs dispose of himselfe, and he thought nobody so fitt a husband for this angelique creature as one Mr. [George] Bathurst [adm. 1604], of the College, a second brother, and of about 300 li per annum, but an indifferent scholar, red fac'd, not at all handsome. But the Doctor's fashion was to goe up and down the College, and peepe in at the key-holes to see whether the boyes did follow their books or no. He seldom found Bathurst minding of his booke, but mending of his old doublet or breeches. He was very thrifty and penurious, and upon this reason he

carried away this curious creature. But she was very happy in her issue; all her children were ingeniose and prosperous in the world and most of them beautifull."

RALPH BATHURST was the fifth of thirteen sons, six of whom are said to have lost their lives in the King's service, was educated at Coventry, became a scholar of Trinity 1637, and fellow 1640. His career as a divinity student was interrupted by the siege of Oxford and the Visitation.

"I was then young, and a modest, retired student, very unfitt to grapple with such difficult times, or to venture myselfe into the wide world, without either strength of body or the advantage of any profession to subsist by. The royall cause was now visibly declining and in a manner desperate. I knew no way better than to turn my studyes to physick; that so in spight of the iniquity of the times, I might get a tolerable livelihood, whatever became of me in the University. When the visitation passed upon us, I thought I had no more to do but to sit still, and rest content with whatever befell under a prevailing enemy; yet neither owning their authority nor concurring in my principles with them, but rather acting separately from them; and for a long time sequestering myself from the University, to follow my study of physick, either at London or in the country."[1]

He appears to have returned to Oxford permanently about 1654, when he was granted leave to take the D.M. instead of the D.D. degree, as having

[1] These and other personal statements are derived from drafts apparently prepared by Bathurst 1683–9 to vindicate himself generally from various complaints about non-residence, &c., made by certain "ungrateful Revilers," in revenge for his interference with their own unstatutable conduct.

"beene lately employed in the service of the State as physitian to the sick and wounded of the navy, which worke he managed with much diligence and successe, to the full satisfaction both of the Generalls at sea and also of the Commissioners for the Admiralty and Navy."

At Oxford he practised with the royalist Dr. Thomas Willis, with whom, and Petty, he was concerned in the resuscitation of a woman hanged there in 1650. He attended with Wallis, Wren, Crewe, and others, the classes formed by the "noted chemist and Rosicrucian Peter Sthael of Strasburgh," who was brought to Oxford in 1659 by Robert Boyle; he was one of the scientific society, which met at Wadham and was absorbed in the Royal Society before it was chartered in 1662.[1] To this period belong three Latin dissertations on respiration, and some other medical discussions, while his Latin complimentary verses range from 1636, on the birth of a daughter to Charles I., to 1663, on the arrival of Catherine of Braganza; the best are iambics prefixed to Hobbes's "Human Nature" in 1650. Of his English verses the neatest are those on the death of Selden. At the Restoration[2] he resumed the study of divinity, and had thoughts of writing a "History of Ceremonies" or

[1] Bathurst was also active in forming the later Oxford branch in 1683, was president of it in 1688; and endeavoured to encourage the study of chemistry among the undergraduates (v. pp. 171–3). Aubrey puts the "beginning of Philosophicall Experiments in Oxon." as far back as 1649.

[2] He considered his loyalty unquestionable; "before the time of his Majesty's return the generality of the University was, for the most part, come about to wish well to the government both of church and state, as by law established; and the members of our own colleges as much as, or more than, any; which I could show, by many instances to be especially owing to myselfe."

a "History and genuine notion of Preaching"; but became absorbed in business, was made chaplain to the king, and Dean of Wells 1670, though he refused the bishopric of Bristol offered him in 1691, at the advice of Lord Somers, as likely to interfere with the interests of the College. He considered that his other offices were beneficial, as enabling him to go into good society; and obtained an opinion in 1673 "at Lambeth House in the withdrawing-room after dinner," from Sheldon and Morley[1] and Judge Raynsford, the father of a Trinity undergraduate,[2] that he might be absent more than the sixty days permitted by the Founder, to "serve the church" as Dean of Wells,

"especially considering, that my absence upon that occasion, doth not only enable me to be more Hospitable and Liberall at Home, but also gives me a larger Interest Abroad; and many opportunityes of engaging persons of Quality to send their sons to the College, for its greater Honour and Benefit."

As President of Trinity he was on intimate terms both with persons of quality and with the best scholars of his time, such as Evelyn, South,[3] Allestree, Jane,

[1] Sheldon and Morley were old friends, having been, like Chillingworth, members of the little circle which gathered round Falkland at Great Tew: v. p. 113 Morley is credited with having answered a question as to "what the Arminians held," by saying that they held all the best Bishoprics and Deaneries in the Church of England.

[2] George Rainsford of Trinity spoke heroic verses on "Oxonia Triumphans" at the Act in 1674.

[3] "The oldest and most intimate friend I had in the world, our friendship having been of near fifty years standing, without any the least breach, or so much as shadow of unkindness or strangeness between us, from first to last." South, letter dated 24 June 1704.

Wren, Boyle, Wilkins, and Wallis, besides his own pupils such as Somers, Derham, and Charlett. He married in 1664 Mary Palmer,[1] widow of the Puritan Warden of All Souls, and granddaughter of

> "that good Earl, once president
> Of England's Council and her Treasury."

His building schemes and benefactions belong to the history of the College; his begging letters are ingenious and often witty, as when he condoles with a lady who pleads illness, on the ground that the gout is the special "companion of the rich." As vice-chancellor 1673–6, he refitted and repaired St. Mary's, endeavoured to improve the sermons, and vindicated the privileges of the University in restraining wine licences;

> "I hope none but Mr. Sturke will blame me, if I take care that the youth of this university, whose sober education is of more value to the publick than 20*l.* a year, may not have a free and uncontrouled liberty to spend their time and money in debauchery, for a young vintner's better encouragement." (Bathurst to the Commissioners of the wine licence office, 6 Feb. 1675.)

He also concerted measures with Cambridge to enforce the delivery of free copies of printed books; and restrained the barbers, who seem to have been a great nuisance, by forming them into a company. A dangerous

[1] She was distantly related to Wood, but disliked the old gossip and was barely civil to him; in return he loses no opportunity of sneering at her and Bathurst, though he allows him to be "a man of good parts and able to do good things"; *cf.* Clark's Wood's Life; i. 365, ii. 271, 281. He also thought that Bathurst was hostile to his books, *ib.* ii. 186, and iii. 357.

innovation in his time was the permission to the king's players to perform at Oxford in the summer term, though he was complimented by Dryden in 1674

"For patronage from him whose care presides
O'er every noble art and every science guides,
BATHURST: a name the Learn'd with reverence know,
And scarcely more to his own Virgil owe;
Whose age enjoys but what his youth deserv'd,
To rule those muses whom before he serv'd!
His learning and untainted manners, too,
We find, Athenians, are derived to you."

His *orationes* and *oratiunculae*, some of which are printed by Warton,[1] are fair specimens of academical humour in Latin.

Bathurst was "stark blind, deaf, and memory lost" some time before his death on 14 June 1704, occasioned by a fracture of the thigh, which he refused to have set on the ground that an old man's bones had no marrow in them. He desired to be buried privately in Garsington Churchyard, but was actually interred in the south corner of the new ante-chapel, where Josias Howe had been laid in 1701. His will contains a large number of legacies to Trinity, Wells, the Bodleian, &c. The College possesses two portraits; in the President's lodgings there is a fine head by Kneller, and in the Hall an enlargement by Wm. Sonman in 1698 of a miniature by J. Loggan from which the engraving was made.

[1] Warton published Bathurst's Life and Remains in 1761. It betrays a tendency to romance, and is rather stilted in style; but is based on MS. materials collected with some care.

Warton records a foolish tradition that

"perhaps secretly pleased to see a neighbouring, and once a rival, society reduced to a state of desolation, while his own flourished beyond all others, he was found one afternoon in his garden, which then ran almost contiguous to the East side of Baliol College, throwing stones at the windows with much satisfaction. Those who are acquainted with the human heart," etc., etc.

His excursions in the Grove with a whip are perhaps equally apocryphal.

The rise in the standard of comfort after the Restoration and the decay of the old Durham buildings rather than any great increase in the numbers[1] determined Bathurst to reconstruct the College, though "not to any pompous greatness." In 1665 he applied to the Trinity bishops, who recommend him to solicit subscriptions by "letters elegant in a winning and persuasive way," numerous drafts of which are preserved. Sheldon and Skinner gave £100 each; other prosperous members of the College, with tenants and friends, gave sums of from £20 to £50, and less voluntary subscriptions were extracted from gentlemen-commoners on admission or departure; the accounts are extant in a *Liber Minervalium*, and the list of donations in a "stately velam register." Wren was the architect, and apparently wished to build a long range in the "upper part of the Grove," to the East of the then Fellows' Garden; but the old-fashioned subscribers preferred the quadrangular

[1] In 1685, after about 30 new chambers had been added, the numbers were 120, including fellows and scholars and 20 gentlemen commoners. (Wood.)

From a photograph by the] [*Oxford Camera Club*

GARDEN QUADRANGLE

form,[1] and he then sent a sketch of a block of 12 sets of rooms, which was erected in 1665–8, and is shown in its original state in Loggan's print. It is the earliest specimen at Oxford of the French Renaissance style which appeared at Christ's College, Cambridge, 20 years before, and was popularised by Wren; but the destruction of the attics and central pediment in raising the top story in 1802, and the substitution of sash windows for the cruciform monial and transom of French domestic architecture, have been sufficient to obliterate its character. It is possible that the rooms were intended to be occupied singly by fellows and gentlemen-commoners, though here and elsewhere (notably at New College) the old arrangements lasted long:[2] but as "bed places" and "studies" are mentioned, it is not unlikely that the large room was the "chamber" and contained one bed, while of the smaller rooms one was a study and the other a study and bed-place combined. Wren's letter to Bathurst deserves quotation:

"My hon[d] Friend,

I am convinced with Machiavell or some such unlucky fellow, 'tis no matter whether I quote trew, that the world is governed by wordes. I perceive the name of a Quadrangle will carrie it with those you say may possibly be your Benefactors, though it be much the worse situation for the Chambers, and the Beauty of the College, and the Beauty of the particular pile of Building; and if I had skill

[1] Wren also gave a clever design for a small building with 4 chambers to a story in the south half of the Bursary garden, to cost £735; but no use was ever made of this.

[2] The last clear case in Trinity is a promise of "a chamber for two of S[r] Rob[t] Jenkinson's sons" in 1702.

in enchantment to represent the Pile first in one view then in another, that the difference might be evidently seen, I should certainly make them of my opinion: or else I'll appeale to Monsieur Manzard, or Signor Bernini, both which I shall see at Paris within this fortnight. But, to be sober, if any body, as you say, will pay for a Quadrangle, there is no dispute to be made: let them have a Quadrangle, though a lame one, somewhat like a three-legged table. I sent last week to Minchin, to give a full account of the design that was fitted for the Grove. And if you resolve upon the other way of setting it in the Garden, you had two designs for that waye alsoe, neither of which doe I know at present how to mend. . . . You need not use any apologies to me, for I must beg of you to believe you may command me in things of greater moment, and that I love to serve you as your most faithful and affectionate friend and servant

June 22 1665 CHRISTOPHER WREN.

The cost of this north side seems to have been about £1500; in 1665 the builder's men required "Passes in ye sicknes time."

At the same time a "common chamber," now the Old Bursary, was "made up out of a lower room belonging to a fellow; to the end that the fellows might meet together chiefly in the evenings after refection, partly about business but mostly for society sake, which before was at each chamber by turns." The beautiful panelling was added in 1681 at a cost of £54. In 1675 Balliol granted a sub-lease of a long strip of ground which it held from Christ Church; and in 1676–7 the present kitchen with chambers over it was built at a cost of £1000, partly on that ground, by means of which access

was obtained to the yard. This was given up in the next century, except the site of the building, for which Christ Church accepted a quit-rent. In 1682 the College, assisted by a quantity of small subscriptions and £100 left by Sheldon, was able to proceed with the west side of the quadrangle, on exactly the same plan; the rooms in the N.W. angle were approached from the yard. In 1687 Bathurst erected at his own expense a plain building with six sets of rooms S.E. of the old quadrangle on the site of the old stables shown by Loggan; it belonged to the President's Lodgings, but was always used for undergraduates. "Bathurst" was originally reached through the middle door in the E. range, but at last a passage was made by the little door which had been constructed as an entrance to the vestry-bursary. The rooms over the Hall and the President's Lodgings were much remodelled.

But Bathurst's greatest work was the rebuilding of the Chapel, which was not only "very homely," but had become "infirm and ruinous." He himself determined to pay for the whole of the shell, which cost £2000; but solicited help for the interior woodwork and decorations, which was given by old friends, such as George Evelyn, who sent a "widow's mite" of £50, and new ones, as Lord Somers and Wm. Greenhill, who gave £100 each. It does not appear who furnished the original "Orthography and Ichnography," which was engraved for sending round in 1691; but the style is so similar to Dean Aldrich's advanced Palladian at All Saints that it may be due to him. It was certainly he who advised the enlargement of the area, though fortunately not so far as to cover the S. end of the library, and Wren was

not consulted till 1692, when he made some suggestions, partly to strengthen the west wall of the porch and tower, partly to make the balustrade more solid, so as to carry the present vases and statues instead of slender pinnacles. The plate for the subscribers was re-engraved with his improvements. The tower was originally intended to have a pair of French windows in each story; and the interior shows a lower and much less elaborate erection at the East end. The E. wall is left blank, because Wren's original plan for the College, which appears on two Oxford almanacs, shows that he intended, after completing the garden quadrangle, to replace the old President's Lodgings by a wing with an arcade something like that at Worcester College.[1] The beautiful lime and cedar carving by Grinling Gibbons was added out of the subscriptions; the whole of the woodwork cost £1140; and the ceiling was painted by Pierre Berchet. Miss Celia Fiennes, c. 1695, thought the new chapel

"a Beautifull Magnifficent Structure. Its Lofty and Curiously painted—the Rooffe and Sides ye history of Christ's Ascention—a very fine Carving of thin white wood just like that

[1] It may be mentioned here that the north side of the old Durham quadrangle was replaced by the present range between the two quadrangles by a further subscription in 1728; this wing never had attics, but was made the same height as the chapel, with a balustrade (but no vases) to correspond. The small bell turret may have been that shown at the N.E. corner of the old chapel; the present bell was bought in 1775. By 1728 the numbers had diminished, and it is clear that the rooms are not intended for more than one inmate. Wren's plan did not include any alteration in the Hall; the rooms above it have been rearranged more than once, and the ogee gables replaced by battlements. The ugly plaster ceiling and mean wainscoting, with arms of benefactors, date from 1772–3.

at Windsor it being the same Hand. The whole Chappel is Wanscoated with walnut-tree, and the fine sweet wood ye same y^t^ ye Lord Oxford brought over when high admiral of England. . . . It is sweet like Cedar and of a Reddish Coull^r^, but ye graine much finer and well vein'd."

There is some good carving in the rooms for a fellow over the porch; Bathurst's arms are shown over the northern window. The tower is adorned with statues of females representing Theology, Medicine, Geometry, and Astronomy. The chapel and the tower have been occasionally repaired but are substantially unaltered.

The old chapel, gatehouse, and treasury were utterly demolished; and the first stone was laid on 9 July 1691. The new chapel was consecrated and dedicated 12 April 1694 by John Hough, Bp. of Oxford, acting for the Visitor, Bp. Peter Mews. Bathurst himself read Mattins, with special psalms 84, 122, and 132, and special lessons 2 Chron. vi., and John x. 22 to end; at the Communion service the Epistle was 1 Cor. iii. 16, and the Gospel John ii. 13. Thos. Sykes, the senior tutor, and Margaret professor of divinity, preached on 1 Kings viii. 18; the sermon was printed with a dedication to Bathurst. It is curious to note that the destruction of the old treasury forced the College to use a bank for the first time, £345 being deposited with "Mr. Porter ye Goldsmith."

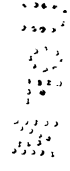
A few facts can be gleaned from the *Computus* before it became purely formal in 1696. A lawyer's fee, "nummus aureus (a guinny)," is valued at £1 1*s.* 6*d.* A collection was made in 1680 for the rebuilding of St. Paul's, and in 1689 for Trinity College Dublin and Irish Protestants. A bachelors' common-room (over

the buttery) was fitted up in 1685. In the same year the College laid out 12*s.* on oats for Mr. Rogers's horse "contra rebelles tunc conscripto," and 12*s.* more "pro avenis in usum Collegii pro equo Mri. Praesidis ad militiam mutuato." These entries refer to the volunteer force which was raised by the University in June to assist James II. against Monmouth's rising. A Trinity undergraduate, Philip Bertie, son of the Earl of Lindsey, who had married Lady Elizabeth Lee (formerly Pope), was captain of the 5th company, which was drilled in the Grove; but it was never called out, though it paraded in Christ Church meadow before the Earl of Abingdon, to whose trumpeters the College paid 10*s.* When it was all over, 3*s.* 6*d.* was spent "pro purgandis Bombardis." Caution-money had been raised to £10, £7, and £2 10*s.*, with various entrance fees for the use of plate, &c., common-room, and gratuities to the servants: the degree fees were £4 7*s.* 6*d.* for the B.A. and £8 5*s.* 6*d.* for the M.A., out of which fixed sums were devoted to Library, plate, &c.

In 1665 occurs the first deliberate attempt to violate the spirit of the statutes; it is pleasant to know that this proceeded from the Visitor, Bp. Morley, and was opposed by the fellows. He wished them to elect a hopeful youth, William Turner, son of the Dean of Canterbury, who had come up as a commoner with his brother Thomas, afterwards Scholar, Fellow, and President of Corpus; and acknowledged that their "only objection against him was his Father's ability to maintayn him." Morley's letter, which contained all the sophistical points, which afterwards became recognised ways of evasion, eventually prevailed. Similarly in 1681 the King wrote to "dis-

From a photograph by the] [*Oxford Camera Club*

INTERIOR OF CHAPEL



pense" with the absence of Villiers Bathurst, afterwards Judge Advocate of the Navy, by which he was about to forfeit his scholarship. In 1674 Morley had sent a long string of interrogatories, based on the statutes, by way of visitation, with special instructions

"to enquire how often in every one of ye severell Colledges ye holy Sacrament is administered; and whether all of ye foundation do duly frequent it. You are also to enquire & take notice of those which are of ye foundation, y^t^ wear periwigs or long hair, especially being priests."

The College replied that there was nothing wrong. Cases of appeals as to the obligation to take orders also appear; and the Bishop again attempts arbitrary measures with the preamble

"having bin now above 20 years your visitor, and never received any trouble from you, as I have done more than once from every one of my other Colleges, I was in good hopes I should never have received any at all from yours, it being so well governed and disciplined as it is."

In 1688 the College broke through the custom of electing the scholars to fellowships by mere seniority; but on an appeal the Regius Professor of Civil Law added, with legal ingenuity, that it was not necessary to take cognisance of "rich relations," since the presumption was that a scholar remained as poor as when he was first elected. The next bishop, Peter Mews, also tried to influence a fellowship election in 1689, and when he failed, complained that he was "neglected and solemnly slighted, wch sticks very close to y^r^ neglected old friend." Bathurst wrote with some spirit that there was no

ground for interference in the case; and that his lordship would only get into hot water;

"and though Magdalen College's fate should befall us, we should not doubt of as happy a delivrance. This is not a time for arbitrary power. . . . It is well known how much our College flourisheth in all respects beyond it's former condition; and is ready to be yet further improved, if we may be suffered to live in peace, and not spend our stock, and what is more precious, our time, in trifling quarrels."

The University generally was materially prosperous at that time; elderly men, like Aubrey, were dismayed at the growing luxury, though it would seem rough now; "how would the good old Dr. [Kettell] have raunted and beat up his kettle drum, if he should have seen such luxury in the College as there is now! *Tempora mutantur.*" Morally and intellectually Oxford had not sunk so low as it did in the first half of the next century, but that is all that can be said. Wood's diary is one long lament over the decay of discipline and manners, which was accelerated by the repeated visits of the Court,[1] and the attempts of the authorities to shine in fashionable society. Scandals do not lose anything in his narratives; but his record of fatal brawls, suicides, expulsions, and drunken riots, tallies too closely with the evidence of punishment registers and scurrilous pamphlets to be seriously exaggerated. Trinity men, fortunately, do not figure much in his pages; but there are some significant entries, *e.g.*, on 9 April 1673, when a Trinity Proctor was admitted,

[1] Parliament met at Oxford in the Plague year 1665, and again in 1681.

"the undergraduates and freshmen came up into the hall; scrambled for biskets; took away bottles, glasses, etc. At Wadham, the like. *Tempora mutantur,* etc."

Nevertheless human nature is much the same in all times, and such letters from undergraduates as have been preserved are very like those of periods less remote. EDMUND VERNEY,[1] for instance, a grandson of Sir Ralph Verney of Claydon, when admitted as a gentleman-commoner in Jan. 1685, brought with him "a new sylver hilted sword, a new striped morning-gown, and 6 new laced Bands, whereof one is Point de Loraine," as well as a sort of schoolboy's hamper of oranges, lemons, raisins, and sugar; but in February he wrote:

"Most Honoured Father: I want a Hatt, and a payre of Fringed Gloves very much, and I desire you to send me them if you can possibly before Sunday next, for as I come from Church Everybody gazeth upon me and asketh who I am. This I was told by a Friend of Myne who was asked by Two or Three who I was."

He lived in one chamber with a "chum," his cousin, Denton Nicholas, and in June wanted money to contribute to a joint fund for a new table and cane chairs; his father did not like "the Vanity," promising money "very shortly, but not to Lay out in Vaine Moveables."

In 1686 he writes several times about a "Versifying Dialogue" which he wished to recite at the Act with a

[1] His home letters 1685–8 are preserved in the wonderful mass of family documents at Claydon House. Lady Verney, whose "Memoirs of the Verney Family" are widely known, most generously allows me to anticipate a few points from an interesting chapter in her fourth volume.

college and county friend, Sir Wm. Dormer of Lee Grange, Bucks.

"Most Honoured Father: I hope when my Grandfather is perfectly recovered, you will consider chiefest Business now in hand, and that is my speaking Verses in the Theatre next Act: which as we here esteem it, is one of the Noblest and most Honourable things a gentleman can doe, while he stays in the University. Therefore seeing the time now drawes near, I desire you would Bye me a good new Periwigg, & send me as much as will Bye me a new sute of Black Clothes, and the rest of the charges & fees will not amount to above ten pounds at most."

Next term he stays a night out of College, and to his tutor Dr. Sykes, whom the father calls "a plaine Dealer and an Honest Gentleman," alleges "particular Reasons that I cannot Discover," and is on the point of being rusticated, when the Small Pox, which "were" almost endemic in Oxford at this time, breaks out more severely; there have been 16 or 17 cases in Trinity in six months, "and its very chargeable being sick here," and every one goes down; and next term the father assumes that the bad report has "through length of time grown obsolete." In 1687 he dislocates his arm "a-wrestling, and the place was very ill chosen for such an exercise," and is evidently rather lazy also; "when he is well, he does not love to rise in a morning, and therefore loses part of the College exercises." In 1688 he takes fencing lessons and learns to "exercise the Pike and Musquet as well"; on 8 May, after having sent home a list of debts which amounts to £17 odd, including £2 5*s*. for a "long wigg," he writes:

"Most Honoured Father, I understand that mine of the 29th last Post did not thoroughly satesfy you concerning my debts of the last quarter due at our Lady Day last, and particularly concerning that which I owe to the College, which is 09*l.* 10*s.* 07*d.*, because I did not particularise for what, and I perceive that you think that this colledge debt is only for bare meate and drinke together with my chamber rent, which is not so, for we gentlemen do maintain all the Colledge servants & serviters, & something we pay quarterly for University dues, & there are severall other expences which at present I cannot think on, that are reckoned in for Battles; But as for my Bedmaker, Laundress, & Barber, which you supposed to be appendants to the College, they are not payed by the Burser but by me, so they are not put down in the Burser's Booke amongst my Battles: neither did I put them down in the account of my debts, because I have them allready.

I perceive you think my expences very great, and as for my part I should be very glad if I could Live for less, but I am sure if you rightly understood the necessity of them, you could not chuse but think them only reasonable and me very frugall, and so with my duty to you and my grandfather and my love to my sister, I subscribe myself your most dutyfull sonn

EDMUND VERNEY.

I am resolved I will put you to no unnecessary charges; I did not long since design to go through a course of Chymistry, the expences of which would amount to 3 pounds and upwards, but thinking it a charge not absolutely necessary I have desisted in my designs, and let slipp a very good opportunity."

This is evidently intended to "score," but the plain country gentleman was too much for his son;

"I am gladd you didd not goe through with a Course of Chymistry. That Sort of Learning I do not approve of for you, it is only usefull unto Physitians, & it impoverisheth often those that study it, and Brings constantly a Trayne of Beggars along with it."

A less artless but even more valuable account of College life has accidentally[1] survived in a fragment of the autobiography of JOHN HARRIS (Sch. 1684–8) who was afterwards at St. John's, Cambridge, and had a curious career as a clergyman in Kent and Sussex, lecturer on mathematics in London, F.R.S., and compiler of a "Collection of Voyages," a "History of Kent," and the first "Dictionary of Arts and Sciences." The man was evidently priggish, but he seems accurate in what he noticed.

"Trinity College was at this time, wch was in the year 1683, very famous & full of students; gentlemen being very fond of placing their sons under the care of so excellent a governor as ye President of that college was, viz.: Dr. Ralf Bathurst, then also Dean of Wells. For certainly no College ever had more exercise done in it, nor better performed. In the Morning at seven o'clock in Term time, as soon as Prayers were over, there were Logic & Physic Lectures read in the Hall to all ye Students in ye House in distinct classes. Between this time and ten o'clock every undergraduate had a Lecture from his Tutor.[2] At

[1] *v.* Dict. of Nat. Biogr. These extracts were communicated to Warton for his Life of Bathurst in 1761, by Edw. Goddard of Cliffe Pypard; Warton did not use them, but fortunately left them among his papers, and the original MS. has since been lost.

[2] In 1684 only 3 fellows were tutors, and in 1689 a scholar was Logic Reader; from 1680 a regular charge was made "pro Praelectoribus non dotatis."

ten there were Disputations in the Hall in Logic and Physics. Every day in Term time there was a Declamation spoke in the Hall in Latin, and at every meal a speech out of some good Latin Author, wch was called the Narrare. At two o'clock every afternoon there was an Exposition in the Hall on the best Greek & Latin Authors,[1] where the young Scholars were made to construe, & to give the sense in a manly way: and the Lecturer explained the text grammatically & historically: & at 5 o'clock there were Disputations again by the Bachs: of Arts at wch the Undergraduates were present.

In the Long Vacation these exercises were performed every other day. And Dr. Bathurst was present every day without fail at most of them if he were well & in Town. Many Tutors also read Lectures to their Pupils in the afternoon as well as in the morning, and obliged them to make a Theme or Latin Verses every week; wch the Undergraduate Scholars of the House did also, and their Exercises were produced in the Hall at the Fellows' Table every Saturday at noon.

The Education & manner of Life in this Coll. was Manly and Gentile & free from abundance of the Pedantry and Impertinence in other Houses. Lectures were here read in Experimental Philosophy and Chymistry, and a very tolerable course of Mathematicks taught: especially after Harris took his first degree, for then the excellent President gave him leave to teach Mathematicks to such as were inclined to learn, wch he did, and showed them the practicall and usefull part, & how to apply it to business and the advantages of Life.

There was also in this Coll. a very Good Collection of Philos: & Mathem: Books of all kinds as also of the

[1] Some of the scholars were taught Hebrew by a learned Jew, Dr. Abendana, whose fees are charged in *Computus* from 1689.

Classicks placed in a room wch we called the *Lower Library*, where every undergraduate had the liberty to go & study as long as he pleased, wch was a mighty advantage to the House, and ought to be imitated by other Colleges.

After H: had been here a year his tutor asked him how he liked Logic, ye Lectures, Disputations, &c: He answered, Not at all: for tho' that way of talking and reasoning might be necessary to be understood there as a kind of University Language, yet he said he cou'd not find he had gain'd any real knowledge by it. His Tutor, Mr. Steph: Hunt,[1] told him it was very true: and if he had any hopes of making a figure in any of ye learned professions, he must as much study to *Forget y^t cant* when he left ye University, as now he took pains *to acquire it.*"

But Harris is anxious to show that he was not merely a student, but a young blood as well:

"That wise and excellent Governor [Dr. Bathurst] loved dearly to see the young gentlemen of his College discover something of fire & spirit in their diversions, and wou'd pass by any little excursions provided they were not vicious nor injurious.

One whim, or *Flip*, wch Harris was concern'd in, is so comicall as to be worth remembering.

One bright moonshine night two young gentlemen, now both living, were drest up like Roman Statues, & by means of a ladder placed in ye two niches of ye new Quadrangle,

[1] STEPHEN HUNT (Sch. 1672, Fell. 1681–9) belonged to a chemistry society which met in 1683 "when the elaboratorie was quite finisht" (Wood's Life, iii. 75); in 1688 he leaned to Romanism. Edmund Verney writes that he is "suspected in his religion" and about to be made chaplain of the Tower. In 1689 the College seized the opportunity of expelling him for not taking the B.D. degree, though he appealed on the ground that he had taken "oaths, subscriptions, sacrament, &c."

wch were left vacant for the statues of some eminent benefactors. As soon as these had their cue, H : got into the Fellows Room, & with a great deal of counterfeited surprise & Horrour tells them y^t he feared the College was haunted ; for that there were human figures standing in ye niches of ye New Buildings. Two of ye fellows went out with him : saw them standing there to their very great surprise ; but they had not courage enough to venture to go near them without more company. But while they were gone back to fetch this out of their common room, a young fellow-commoner happened to go thro the Court with a Violin in his hand, on wch he had been playing in the Grove ; he had been that evening drinking in company, & had got himself pot valiant. As he pass'd by, one of the *Statues* hemm'd to him, & by that means discover'd himself to this Gentleman, who, after having stared at him some time, flies to a heap of rubbish that lay hard by, & snatching up some pieces of bricks, soon pelted one of the statues down, & broke ye window adjacent to that niche ; the statue had no remedy but to leap down upon him, wch it did, breaking his fiddle, & demolishing him very much, & withal bestowing many kicks & cuffs upon him : & then together with the other statue gott away to his chamber. By this time the then Dean & some more of ye Fellows had muster'd up courage enough to make a visit in consort to these statues, but when they came into that Quadrangle, they found the niches empty & no statues there. The rest ridiculed the Dean, who said he had actually seen ye figures himself : and in the truth of that he was supported by Harris, who affirmed that he saw them also, as did ye other fellow ye Dean's first companion. While the dispute held the groans of *Croom*[1] affected them,

[1] Frescheville, son of Valentine Croom, of London, adm. 1685.

for y^t was ye name of ye Hero y^t had stoned ye statue till he had fetch'd him down upon his head: they approached him, took him up, and examin'd him nicely, but he finding the violin broke fell into such a passion that they cou'd get nothing out of him but curses against ye Devil who, he said, had *leap't upon his head,* beat him, and broke his violin.

The next morning Croom was Examin'd again before the President & Fellows, as also was Harris. C: remembered nothing at all of the matter, said he never saw any statue &c., but only that having drunk too much with some Country gentlemen he said he fell down and broke his Cremona Fiddle wch was worth 50*l.* The Dean & his first attendant declared they actually saw statues standing in the Niches, & H: very gravely confirm'd it by what he saw with his own eyes: but did it in such a manner that ye Presdt. saw into the whole affair; and telling the Dean & Fellows that they were either Drunk or mad, invited Harris to dine with him, & made him tell him the whole contrivance: & he express'd himself to be as sorry as the contrivers were that Croom's drunken valour had disappointed them of ye pleasure of frightning ye Fellows (if they shou'd have ventured to exorcise the statues) by dreadfull voices & speeches, wch were ready prepared for that purpose."

The College order-books, which from 1684 record "the result of such Debates as are treated of at ye yearly scrutiny or other times," contains some regulations as to lectures, hall dinners, etc. Every moderator or lecturer is authorised to fine for absence. No one may go out of hall at dinner or supper without leave, or without "putting on" for what he has had; no undergraduates except fellow-commoners may go into

the Buttery or Cellar. It seems to have been usual to have a meal in the "inner Buttery," to which men went at the same time as hall-dinner, even after coming into hall. In 1688, no "clans or Common meetings" may be kept in any chamber after 9.0 P.M.; no one may "sit, walk, or make any stay in the Kitchen Buttery or Cellar" without special leave; and on "Friday nights and other Fasting-Suppers" there shall be a senior "called" and the usual order observed "except Narrare's and the Difference of Diet." Bachelors are to leave their Common-room "at one after Dinner and at nine after Supper"; to be constant at Disputations; not to wear their Hats in College; and to read the Gospel in the Hall on Sundays, Holy-days and Gaudys. No undergraduate is to "absent himself from Prayers more y^n twice in one week, or else to forfeit 2*d.* for every time"; and twice "Tardy" (*i.e.*, after the first Psalm) is once absent. The fellows are warned not to exceed their statutory days of absence or to invite visitors on Gaudy days; and in 1690 are to be fined for failure to assist at the Disputations in Divinity. A probationer who had been sent down by the University in 1673 for an indecent speech as *Terræ Filius* was not elected actual fellow by the College, as "minime idoneus." In 1687 a B.A. scholar, John Glanvill, a minor poet, was expelled the College for drunkenness.

There is also a curious order of 1 Oct. 1664 for "regulating the charge of Degrees," from which it appears the proceeder was obliged by custom to add something to the commons in hall on the day of his presentation. In order to avoid "contests, aemulations and comparisons," this addition is fixed at "1*s.* 6*d.* for

every messe at the Third Table, 2*s.* for the Second Table, and 2*s.* 6*d.* for the High Table; and to the President (in the Hall or out of the Hall as he pleaseth) about the value of 2*s.* 6*d.* in meat and one quart of wine." Guests may be brought in by the host at the rate of 5*s.* in meat and wine for each mess; "Additional Diet" to the amount of 4*s.* is to be given to the servants. If there are several Proceeders they are to share the expenses; and larger sums are required from members of the Second table and High table. Wood (Life, iii. 346–7) gives the routine observed at the degree of a grand-compounder:—

"Dec. 8 1690, the grace of Francis lord North, baron Guildford, of Trin. Coll. was proposed. Dec. xi, the vice chancellor bedells and proctors went between 9 and 10 in the morning to Trin. Coll. as also the deputy orator . . . and being received in the common room by the said lord North were entertained with wine and bisket. Thence they went to the schooles, viz., bedells, vice-chancellor, proctors, lord North (bare, in scarlet gowne), then the deputy orator, president of Trinity, fellowes, and all of the house, who conducted him through the Turl . . . to the Schooles where he was presented M.A. by the deputy orator with a little speech. Afterwards he was attended home by some of his house, and at dinner gave a noble entertainment to all the college in their hall."

There are few references to Trinity in the accounts of visits about this time, though strangers usually did Oxford very thoroughly. However, in May 1683, James Duke of York, and his second wife Maria Beatrice, and the lady Anne his daughter, spent 4 days

in Oxford, and one afternoon visited Exeter, Jesus, Lincoln, Brasenose, and

"thence into the backway (through the Grove) to Trinity College; where at the entrance into the new quadrangle, Mr. Gilbert Budgell, M.A. and fellow, spake an English speech, with the society in their formalities (the president being absent) by him . . . bad and ill-spoken. After it was done, James Newton, fellow-commoner of that house, spoke a copie of English verses, made by Josias Howe, senior fellow, which were liked."

However, Trinity men had done better at the entertainment in the Theatre, where

"one of Trinity College, in the senior proctor's seat, named Philipp Bertie, made three low bowes, viz., one to the duke, another to the dutches, and a third to the ladie Ann. After which ceremony, he spake to them a copy of English verses. After he had finished with applause, Sir Thomas Trollop, of the said college, baronet, bowing also as the former, spake another copy (both written by Creech, B. of A. of Wadham College). Which being done and hum'd twice or thrice as Bertie's was, the said Mr. Bertie concluded with seaven fine neat verses directed to the lady Anne."

Considering the success of Bathurst's efforts to interest influential people in the fortunes of the college, it is surprising that it did not produce in his time more men of real eminence. However, one of the most remarkable of Trinity men was admitted in 1667; JOHN SOMERS, among whose patrons was another Trinity man, Sir Francis Winnington, made his mark as counsel for the Seven Bishops, framed the Declaration of Right, became Lord High Chancellor as Baron Somers of Evesham,

and was not only one of the greatest Whig statesmen, but also a real student of languages, philosophy, and science, and a patron of learning. Next to him, JAMES STANHOPE (Com. 1688) was a steady Whig M.P. and a vigorous and capable commander in the War of the Succession in Spain; under George I. he was a Secretary of State and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a successful, possibly because a truthful, diplomatist; he was made Earl Stanhope in 1718. A less brilliant statesman was HON. SPENCER COMPTON (Com. 1690), who was Speaker of the House of Commons 1715–27, in which year he was designated Prime Minister by George II.; he was made Earl of Wilmington in 1730, and was First Lord of the Treasury in 1742. ALLEN BATHURST (Com. 1700), nephew of the President, was a friend and correspondent of such men as Pope, Swift, Prior, Congreve, and Sterne; he was one of the twelve peers created in 1712, and became Earl Bathurst in 1772. HENRY HERBERT (Com. 1670) was an active Whig politician, joined William III. in Holland, sat for Bewdley in the Convention Parliament, and was made Lord Herbert of Cherbury in 1694. FRANCIS NORTH, 2nd Lord Guilford (Com. 1689), was son of the Lord Keeper, and an active promoter of the early missionary societies. SIR THOS. REEVE (Com. 1688) was a clever lawyer in Crown cases, and became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1736. SIR JOHN WILLES (Com. 1700), son of an old Fellow, John Willes, Canon of Lichfield, was a pushing lawyer and M.P., who at last became Attorney-General in 1734 and Justice of the Common Pleas in 1737, but never Chief Justice or Chancellor. SIR ROBERT SUTTON (Sch. 1689) was ambassador at

Constantinople and Paris. Several physicians of some note may have owed their scientific training to Bathurst's lectures; *e.g.*, SALUSBURY CADE (Com. 1677), RICHARD HALE (Com. 1689), and WM. BARROWBY (Sch. 1700), all distinguished in their day.

Among authors the best-known name is perhaps that of Dryden's absurd rival, the City poet, ELKANAH SETTLE (Com. 1666); his bombastic tragedies were often acted at Oxford. WM. NELSON (Com. 1669) and JOSEPH SHAW (Com. 1687) wrote on law; THOS. ROGERS (Com. 1675) produced satires; WM. DERHAM (Servitor 1675) some really able works on religious philosophy, natural history, and mechanics; EDMUND GREGORY (Sch. 1677–83) an "Anatomy of Christian Melancholy," with some good verse; JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE (Com. 1685) tracts and translations from the French and German; SAMUEL PARKER (Com. 1694) voluminous works on literature. The last was also a prominent non-juror. ARTHUR CHARLETT (Sch. 1671, Fell. 1679) was one of the best known Oxford men of his day,[1] and was elected Master of University College in 1692; as Vice-Chancellor he stimulated the Clarendon Press; his extensive correspondence on antiquarian subjects is in the Bodleian.

[1] Hearne (Diary i. 214–5, and 236) identifies Charlett with Steele's "Abraham Froth" (*Spectator* 43) and describes him as "commonly known as the Gazzeteer or Oxford Intelligencer," and as "noted for the variety of his correspondents and acquaintance, as well as magnificent way of Living." He relates a story of his "famous boy" who lighted his master home with a Silver Tankard instead of a Dark Lantern. "It seems that he, with ye President of Magdalen College and ye Provost of Queen's were one evening at ye Warden's of New College; where they staid till 9 of ye clock, but 'tis highly scandalous to say they drunk to excess." *Tempora mutantur* indeed!

Edward Cobden (Com. 1702) became Archdeacon of London 1742, published poems and sermons, and founded a leaving exhibition at Winchester College to be held at Trinity.

The amount of permanent benefactions during this period is small, though the various subscription-lists are liberal enough. Edward Bathurst, B.D. (Sch. 1628–37), who died rector of Chipping-Warden in 1668, left a large field at Thorp Mandeville, the rent to go two years out of three to the College (now assigned to the Exhibition Fund), and in the third year to apprenticing poor children from the parishes of Garsington and Cropredy in Oxfordshire, and Holthorp and Chipping-Warden in Northamptonshire. He also paid for the effigy of the Founder over the hall door. Thomas Unton (Com. 1630), who died rector of Chetwynd in 1693, left a number of MSS., some rather valuable, and a rent-charge of £10 per annum for an exhibitioner. Anthony Ettrick (Com. 1640), an eccentric Dorsetshire county gentleman, who is best known for having committed Monmouth, and for the curious tomb he prepared for himself in Wimborne Minster, gave 40*s.* per annum out of the fee farm rent of the rectory of Poole, to be applied to increasing the commons on 5 Nov. Thomas Rowney, of Oxford, who had been steward of the college manors, gave, in 1687, the advowson of the rectory of Rotherfield Greys, near Henley; and President Bathurst, besides his large donations, gave the advowson of the rectory of Oddington-on-Otmoor. The rectory of Barton on the Heath was purchased soon afterwards, perhaps from the legacies of Josias Howe and Thos. Sykes. These benefices were intended to

provide for the fellows when they wished to marry and leave the College. Similarly in the next century, JOHN GEALE (Sch. 1702), vicar of Bishops Lydiard, bequeathed the donative of Hill Farrance in 1732, and RICHARD HALE, M.D. (Com. 1689), the advowson of the rectory of Farnham, Essex, in 1728. FREDERIC TYLNEY gave, in 1720, a rent charge of £20 to maintain an exhibitioner from Hampshire, who should be nominated by him and his successors in the ownership of Tylney Hall; and ROBERT EYRE, D.D. (Sch. 1709), rector of Buckland, Surrey, left £100 in 1775 to produce a small benefaction for such of the scholars as were sons of clergymen.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: STAGNATION

Presidents: Thos. Sykes, D.D., 1704–5; Wm. Dobson, D.D., 1706–31; George Huddesford, D.D., 1731–76; Joseph Chapman, D.D., 1776–1808.

THE last century was not so black as it has been painted, either at Oxford or elsewhere: but it cannot be denied that it opens badly at the Universities. The old methods in education had become formal, obsolete, and almost useless; and new ideas hardly appear before the end of the century. The University was distracted by political factions, and the Colleges by quarrels about the tenure of fellowships and offices. Nearly all the fellows were in orders, and many of them non-resident and in cures, since they contrived to hold benefices with their fellowships by means of resignation bonds, often given in favour of their own pupils. The majority of the undergraduates had no occupations but drinking, horse-racing, and ogling the ambitious young women, daughters of tradesmen or college servants, who wished to be considered "Oxford Toasts." The numbers declined heavily, partly in consequence of the constant wars; at Trinity the year of Culloden was nearly as

empty of matriculations as the year of Edgehill. At the same time the value of landed property increased, and with it the stipends of the fellows and their standard of comfort.

Nevertheless Oxford was one of the few places in England where there were libraries and appliances for study; and there were always a few scholars who were really devoted to the classics. The labours of the Antiquarians were perhaps out of proportion to the intrinsic value of their results; but they prepared the way for more intelligent historical research; just as the feeble poetry of the time indicated the possibility of a revival of literature. The great religious movement of the eighteenth century, no less than that of the nineteenth, started in Oxford; and even if both were frowned on by the authorities, their existence testifies to strong undercurrents of interest and practice among the younger generations. It must be remembered also that this was an age in which the College was regarded by many as a home, and that there was a constant stream of donations or legacies of £50 to £500 from members of the foundation whenever money was wanted for any public object.

Of the presidents of Trinity during this period no worse need be said than that they are too insignificant to figure in the Dictionary of National Biography. On Bathurst's death, Thos. Sykes, D.D. (Serv. 1660, Sch. 1662, Fell. 1667), who had been Margaret Prof. of Divinity from 1691, was selected; but he died of gout 14 Dec. 1705, and was buried in the ante-chapel. Hearne, who is not usually more complimentary in his judgments than Wood, writes of him that

"when he was Fellow of the College, he was a great Tutor, & in his younger Years accounted a man of Quick Apprehension; but when years grew upon him, he became infirm & had not that ready utterance as might be expected from a Professor. However he has left behind him the character of an Honest Man,[1] and a learned Divine."

His successor, Wm. Dobson, D.D. (Sch. 1667, Fell. 1676–9), is also commended as "an Honest Man and a good Scholar, who by his Prudence 'tis hop'd will raise the Drooping Credit of ye Society, wch formerly had men of Note in it, but now has not one." His election must have been a surprise to the University, as he had ceased to be fellow nearly thirty years before on institution to the rectory of Cliddesdon with Farley, Hants. He seems to have been arbitrary and injudicious in office, and by 1707 was engaged in a violent controversy as to the propriety of the expulsion of a fellow-commoner, who according to the Tutors and Lecturers and other fellows had nothing alleged against him

"more than that he laugh'd in the Chapell of the said College at the time of Divinity Disputations, that he kicked at the Cat of Thomas Hasker, Clerk, and Bursar of the said Coll., which Cat (as it is said) ran afterwards into the Chapell; and that he behav'd himself with Incivility[2] to some of the Society, but the Persons, Time, or Place were

[1] Sykes must surely have been an "Honest man" technically, *i.e.*, a Jacobite!

[2] Dobson's allegations reveal extraordinary possibilities; this undergraduate used "to revile us all publickly in the Hall, to reflect severely upon me in particular several times," so that "the fellows whenever they went into the Hall expected of course to be affronted by his means."

not particularly mention'd to him, whereby he was render'd altogether uncapable of making any excuse for himself."

This led to other deprivations, resignations, loss of intended benefactions, and at last in 1709 to a pamphlet, then equivalent to a scandal in the newspapers. This pamphlet is evidently the work of some member of the foundation; a real grievance mentioned in it is the difficulty of obtaining information as to the actual words of a statute. It appears that the expelled commoner was reinstated, while two M.D.s resident in the College, one an ex-fellow and the other an ex-scholar, who had also been ejected, were spontaneously offered a general *liceat migrare* by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Wm. Lancaster, "old Smooth-boots." Hearne thought Dobson "acted like a poor-spirited, weak, half-witted man"; and in 1713 a speech "intended to have been spoken by the Terræ Filius," gives a "Receipt for a Head of a House of the Dobson type":

"Recipe an Old Heavy Country Parson, extract all Remains of Common Sense, and common Honesty; and then put in Gravity, Formality, Hypocrisy, and Pretended Conscience, of each a large Quantity. Add of Stupidity *q. suff. Fiat Compositio Simplex:* give him the Degree of Doctor in Divinity and then S. *Caput Mortuum.* N.B. The Use of this Sort is to vote and act as the others bid them."

The College, though not specially litigious, must have been sufficiently troublesome to Bishop Trelawney, who once wrote "I herewith send you an Injunction which I expect to have obey'd," and his successors Bishops Trimnel and Willis; the appeals were mostly on questions of seniority, residence, offices, or pupils;

and often furnish curious data for the social life of the time. The longest squabble was over the performances of a fellow, whose remarks and letters indicate insanity: in 1726 the Visitor thought he had been hardly treated in having been required to sign a general accusation against himself: but in 1732 after "great threatenings and slaughter" he was finally and fairly expelled.[1]

President Dobson died 15 June 1731, and was buried in the antechapel. He was succeeded by an exceptionally young man, GEORGE HUDDESFORD (b. 1699, Sch. 1716, Fell. 1722), who had been Proctor in 1729 and was keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, usually called the "nicknackatory," 1730–55. He was made D.D. in 1739, and always held another benefice besides Garsington. As Vice-Chancellor[1] 1753–6, he engaged in a controversy with Exeter College by reflecting on the part taken by the Whig authorities there in the furiously contested county election of 1754. He died 21 Apr. 1776, having exceeded by three months the previous record of President Kettell, and was buried in the antechapel.

His successor, JOSEPH CHAPMAN, D.D. (b. 1743, Sch. 1760, Fell. 1769), was also very young;[2] he was

[1] One of his first acts was to issue an edict against inoculation at Oxford. Next year it was strongly recommended by the College of Physicians.

[2] In the egregious Life of Dr. Wilmot as the author of the Letters of Junius by his niece Olivia Serres, *soi-disant* Princess of Cumberland, it is said that the fellows proposed to elect James Wilmot (Sch. 1742, Fell. 1752), rector of Barton on the Heath 1782–1807. "When he was made acquainted with their intention, from motives the most praiseworthy he begged leave to decline the honour. 'I should be too severe a disciplinarian,' said he, 'I recommend Dr. Chapman to your notice; he is a very good-natured

Proctor 1775, Rector of Daglingworth 1775–97, as well as Garsington 1776–1808, and Vice-Chancellor 1784–8; Bedel Cox recollected him as "a tall, dignified, well wigged Head of a House," who preferred a quiet easy life. The undergraduates thought him good-natured; but an appellant speaks of two fellows as "united to the President by the identity of their corrupt and despotick principles, and associated with him in a tyrannick exercise of power." He died 17 Feb. 1808, and was buried at the East end of the Chapel; a copy of a small portrait is in the President's Lodgings. It is hardly necessary to observe that the names of Dobson, Huddesford, and Chapman, as also that of Warton, tend to recur on the foundation.

The stagnation of the corporate life of the Society must be attributed in part to the inelasticity of the statutes. The determinations show that the visitors sometimes connived at breaches of antiquated rules from laziness and sometimes from policy, but at other times felt bound to vindicate the intention of the Founder when it was impossible to mistake it. The appeals are more frequently purely personal in character. The Scholars were always elected from among the resident

man, of an even temper, and is therefore likely to be considerate to the errours of youth'." It is not surprising to learn that when Dr. Wilmot was an undergraduate, "some of the most superior characters in the University sought his friendship"; that "when only twenty years of age, such were his acquirements, that he frequently delivered in public the most learned discourses"; and that he was called "Popularity Wilmot." "The still hour of early morning was the time he devoted to intense application. He kept a game-cock," afterwards alluded to as Minerva's bird, "which generally perched on the elbow of a chair by his bedside, and whose crowing was the signal for study!"

commoners by the president and officers, and were presumed to be 16; they were allowed to wait for a chance of a fellowship till they were presumably 24, but had by custom an extra year of grace, making nine in all. James Merrick, afterwards a highly commended poet and scholar, was told that his conscientious scruples were "the proofs of a good and honest mind," and that a man of such "great personal merit" would not be disturbed in his scholarship, unless some one appealed against him. But even M.A. scholars were forced to reside constantly till 1768 or at least

"to return to college in order to renew our leave of absence at every short interval of twenty Days; which perpetual Journies are attended with no inconsiderable Charges to us, as well as with such Loss of Time, as totally interrupts us in pursuing our Studies with that attention & application which we could wish. In the meantime, our Parishes are very much neglected," etc.

The B.A. scholars still resided, performed the useless disputations, and had their own Common Room, where Warton started the custom of an annual Lady Patroness, and a Poet Laureate, who had to celebrate her charms in copies of verses, which are still preserved. Of course if the succession to fellowships was slow, the waste of time and money was serious; "the expenses of the University are so exorbitant," and "the present emoluments of a Scholarship are small and entirely inadequate to the expense which the obligation of such a Residence necessarily imposes." In several cases the idea that the senior scholar at the time of a vacancy succeeded as of right, had to be dispelled; in 1784 an unlucky Irish

scholar complained that he had been "lured from his native country" only to be declared ineligible for a fellowship. As late as 1790, D. B. Allen, father of the late Dean of St. David's, on writing home that he had just been elected senior of the new scholars, says that

"the whole college is nearly petrified with astonishment, Mr. President & fellows having contrary all *precedent,* in filling up the Fellowship, which was vacated by the Immortal Warton, rejected the two senior scholars and elected the third: it makes a wonderful change in our Constitution."

Fellows were gradually allowed by custom considerable liberty of absence; and as few of them had any educational work, even formal, it was a good thing when they took it, and resided in cures of less than the average value of the fellowship, which was vacated by that amount of freehold property or by marriage. It was customary to take the B.D. and to obtain a dispensation from the D.D. degree; in one or two cases the precedent of Bathurst was used and extended to allow the substitution of a medical degree and practice for holy orders, as "enlarging the Founder's good intentions." In 1751 however Bishop Hoadley got up the subject and issued a really masterly dissertation, which, while carefully defining the power of the Visitor to make such dispensations and examining all the precedents, declared positively that all Fellows must take orders after 4 years M.A. standing, and must take all the degrees in Arts and Divinity, and that he would only grant temporary dispensations as to time for *bona fide* candidates for orders. The government of the College was in many points statutably in the hands of the president and officers or

the six or seven seniors, who also by custom divided certain revenues; and in all cases, by means of the plural votes of the president and vice-president, it was in the power of a numerical minority. Hence even if a junior fellow were active, he had no certainty of employment at Oxford, and there was little inducement to study. Warton in the *Idler* (No. 33), speaks of the *genius of the place* as "a sort of inspiring deity"; but there is probably much truth in the caricature which he draws in the form of the "Journal of a Senior Fellow, or Genuine Idler."

"Monday, Nine o'clock. Turned off my bed-maker for waking me at eight. Consulted my weather glass. No hopes of a ride before dinner.

"Ditto, Ten. After breakfast transcribed half a sermon from Dr. Hickman. N.B. Never to transcribe any more from Calamy; Mrs. Pilcocks, at my Curacy, having one volume of that Author laying in her parlour-window.

"Ditto, Eleven. Went down into my cellar. . . . . .

"Ditto, Twelve. Mended a pen. Looked at my weather glass again. Shaved. Barber's hand shakes.

"Ditto, One. Dined alone in my room on a Sole. . . . Sat down to a pint of Madeira. Mr. H. surprised me over it. We finished two bottles of port together, and were very cheerful.

"Ditto, Six. Newspaper in the Common room.

"Ditto, Seven. Returned to my room, made a tiff of warm punch, and to bed before nine; did not fall asleep till ten, a young fellow commoner being very noisy over my head.

"Tuesday, Nine. Rose squeamish," and so on.

In the same spirit he relates how the "Progress of Discontent" carries an Oxford man from scholarship and

fellowship to a country living and a wife, and then recalls the days

> "When endless pleasure
> I found in reading, or in leisure!
> When calm around the Common room
> I puff'd my daily pipe's perfume!
> Rode for a stomach, and inspected,
> At annual bottlings, corks selected:
> And din'd untax'd, untroubled, under
> The portrait of our pious Founder!"

But if the presidents were insignificant, one member of the foundation, THOMAS WARTON, B.D. (Sch. 1745, Fell. 1752–90), was a man universally known for his unceasing industry and wide range of information. He was younger brother of Dr. John Warton, Headmaster of Winchester; and attracted notice by a juvenile poem on "The Triumph of Isis" in defence of the University in 1745, and other humorous poems and odes of an academic character. His first serious work was a volume of "Observations on the Faerie Queene of Spenser"; and he was elected Professor of Poetry in 1756. Some classical work culminated in a magnificent but inadequate edition of Theocritus in 1770, dedicated to Lord North. The Memoirs of Dr. Bathurst and Sir Thos. Pope[1] were followed in 1774 by the first volume of the History of English Poetry, which is still read, and contains valuable materials, though its inaccuracies, including some characteristic mystifications, were exposed

[1] Mant, with unconscious irony, says that this "exhibits an interesting, and partly original, narrative of particulars connected with the persecutions and private life of Queen Elizabeth." Warton's own phrase was "anecdotes not hitherto published."

by the virulent Ritson. In 1785 he was elected Camden Professor of Ancient History and was appointed Poet Laureate; his odes and other poems are not much inferior to those of his friend Collins. He died 20 May 1790, and was buried in the ante-chapel; his portrait, a superb half-length by Sir J. Reynolds, exhibited in 1784, was bequeathed to the College by Thos. Penrose, D.C.L. He is described as a man of amiable character, with a weakness for low company and "popular spectacles," such as executions and military parades; shy and silent in manner, but "affable" to the undergraduates and the Winchester boys. His biographer, Richard Mant (Sch. 1795–8), Bishop of Down and Connor, and of Dromore, may be consulted for a lengthier appreciation of his literary performances.

The most pleasing feature in Warton's career was his intimacy with Samuel Johnson, whose honorary degree of M.A. he was instrumental in procuring in 1755, Huddesford being Vice-Chancellor. Johnson stayed 5 weeks in Kettell Hall, perhaps as Warton's guest, while collecting materials for the dictionary, and was delighted with his walks to Elsfield[1] to see the learned archæologist Francis Wise, and with the common-room life in the long vacation. "If I come to live at Oxford," he said, "I shall take up my abode at Trinity." Next year he wrote affectionately to his host:

"Why does my dear Mr. Warton tell me nothing of

[1] On one occasion, after a talk on the Cabiri, says Warton, "as we returned to Oxford in the evening, I out-walked Johnson, and he cried out *Suffiamina*, a Latin word, which came from his mouth with peculiar grace. . . . I again walked too fast for him, and he now cried out, "Why, you walk as if you were pursued by all the Cabiri in a body."

himself? Where hangs the new volume? Can I help? Let not the past labour be lost for want of a little more: but snatch what time you can from the Hall, and the pupils, and the Coffee-house, and the parks, and complete your design."

But "Professors forget their friends," and critics are sometimes too outspoken. Johnson did not like the "Wardour Street" archaisms of Warton's poems, and said that they showed

> "Endless labour all along,
> Endless labour to be wrong;
> Phrase that Time has flung away,
> Uncouth words in disarray,
> Trick'd in antique ruff and bonnet,
> Ode and elegy and sonnet."

The slighted poet "thought highly" of Johnson as a lexicographer, though not as a man of taste or a classical scholar; but he ceased to call on him; and Johnson declared that Tom Warton was the only man of genius without a heart. Still in 1769 he sent Warton a Baskerville Virgil for the Library,[1] with the inscription "Hunc Librum D.D. Samuel Johnson, LL.D., quod hic loci studiis interdum vacaret."

But the records of Johnson's friendship with two younger Trinity men are among the most delightful touches in Boswell.[2] When Johnson came up to Oxford to see his "lanky" young Lincolnshire squire,

[1] He preferred a *Gothick* to a *modern* library; "Sir, if a man has a mind to prance, he must study at Christ Church and All Souls."

[2] Most charmingly described by Miss L. I. Guiney, in "A Little English Gallery," Harper, New York, 1894.

BENNET LANGTON (Com. 1758), he found that he had already made friends with the gay descendant of Charles II.,[1] TOPHAM BEAUCLERK (Com. 1757). "I love, dear Sir, to think of you," he wrote to Langton in his freshman term, asking anxiously whether he was disillusioned as to "academical life, and the manners, the views, and the conversation of men devoted to letters"; and though he had his tiffs with him, as when the serious young man presented Johnson with a selection of texts on humility and tolerance, yet his "Sit anima mea cum Langtono" was indeed fit to be his friend's epitaph. A cast from Langton's bust is in the College Library. But the idle and cheerful "Beau" was even more fascinating to Johnson's rather morbid soul, and could take any liberties with him, even beguiling him to lie on a tombstone during service time "like Hogarth's Idle Apprentice." The two friends may have been still undergraduates on the memorable night when they knocked up Johnson at 3.0 A.M.,—"What, is it you, you dogs! I'll have a frisk with you"; but after Covent Garden and a row to Billingsgate, Langton "deserted his social friends to go and sit with a set of wretched *un-idea'd* girls."

Other distinguished members of the foundation were FRANCIS WISE (Sch. 1711, Fell. 1718), Keeper of the Archives and Radcliffe's Librarian, a competent (perhaps too competent) archæologist and numismatologist; ANTHONY ADDINGTON (Sch. 1733), eminent physi-

[1] He was son of Lord Sidney Beauclerk (Com. 1721), who had inherited the riches of Richard Topham, M.P. for Windsor (Com. 1689). He married the fashionable *divorcée*, Lady Diana Spencer, an amateur artist of some merit.

cian, friend and political agent of Chatham, and father of "the Doctor," *i.e.*, Lord Sidmouth, Prime Minister 1801–4; JAMES MERRICK (Sch. 1737, Fell. 1744), writer of poetry and exegesis, and editor of Tryphiodorus; WILLIAM HUDDESFORD (Sch. 1750, Fell. 1757), Keeper of the Ashmolean, antiquarian editor of Lives of Hearne and Wood, and writer on conchology; JAMES DALLAWAY (Sch. 1779), learned in topography and heraldry, and author of the "History of West Sussex"; WM. LISLE BOWLES (Sch. 1782), Canon of Salisbury and minor but admired poet, Byron's "maudlin prince of mournful sonneteers"; HENRY HEADLEY (Sch. 1782), minor poet and anthologist; WM. BENWELL (Sch. 1784, Fell. 1790), a promising classical scholar, Landor's "dear good Benwell"; RICHARD MANT (Sch. 1795), Bampton Lecturer, poet and hymn-writer, commentator, Bishop and historian of the Irish Church; and JOHN GILBERT (Sch. 1713), who, though not a man of any learning, rose,[1] through a fellowship at Merton, canonries of Exeter and Christ Church, deanery of Exeter, bishoprics of Llandaff and Salisbury, to be Archbishop of York 1757–61.

The Commoners' tables also produced an archbishop, CHARLES COBBE (Com. 1705), who was consecrated to Killala, and after holding Dromore and Kildare, became Archbp. of Dublin in 1743. The greatest Trinity man of any period, one of the greatest of English statesmen, WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM (Com. 1726), no doubt came to the College as nephew of James Stanhope; unfortunately there are no details of his

[1] He was naturally the first of the scholars to take the oath of abjuration imposed in 1715.

career here. Francis North, first Earl of Guilford (Com. 1721), and his son the Prime Minister, Lord North[1] (Com. 1749), came as founder's kin, as also Lord Guilford's stepson, William Legge, Earl of Dartmouth (Com. 1748), the pious friend of most of the early methodists; Lord North's brother, Brownlow North (Com. 1760), rapidly promoted to the bishoprics of Lichfield (1771), Worcester (1774), and Winchester (1781–1820); and Lord North's son, George Augustus, third Earl of Guilford (Com. 1774), who was an active politician. Other men of action were Sir Chas. Price (Com. 1724), Speaker of the Jamaica Assembly 1746–63, etc., and his son Sir Chas. Price (Com. 1752), Speaker 1763–75; the Hon. John St. John (Com. 1763), M.P. 1773–80, surveyor-general of the land revenues of the Crown, a writer of a work on the Land Revenue and two successful tragedies; James, Viscount Maitland (Com. 1775), 8th Earl of Lauderdale, a Whig and almost Jacobin M.P. and Scotch representative peer, and writer on economics; and Sir John Sinclair (Com. 1775), an independent M.P., statistician and agriculturist, first President of the Board of Agriculture 1793–8, and voluminous writer on statistics, agriculture, and Ossian.

Among divines and men of letters were Eustace Budgell (Com. 1705), who contributed 37 papers to the *Spectator*; John Bampton (Com. 1706), who founded the Bampton lectures, first delivered in 1779; Smart

[1] Dr. Wilmot, says Mrs. Serres, "was preceptor to Lord North while at the University. But it was the Doctor's opinion that his Lordship had not imbibed many of those patriotic principles which he had once endeavoured to inculcate on his pupil's mind. On the contrary, he would often observe, that his administration was such as called for the most painful animadversions."

LETHIEULLIER (Com. 1719), a great collector of MSS., books, coins, drawings, marbles, fossils, etc., and benefactor of the British Museum; JOHN ASH (Com. 1740), a prominent literary physician in Birmingham and London; FRANCIS NEWBERY (Com. 1762), publisher, translator, and amateur musician; GEORGE GASKIN (Com. 1771), Secretary to the S.P.C.K. and supporter of Episcopacy in Scotland and America; JOHN CHARNOCK (Com. 1775), author of works on naval biography and marine architecture; JOHN ROGERS (Com. 1797), distinguished as a geologist, mineralogist, and Hebrew and Syriac scholar; and FREDERICK BEADON (Com. 1796), Canon of Wells and centenarian; are they not all written in the Dictionary of National Biography? with others who discussed in learned works such subjects as the "Dispersion of the Men of Babel," or "Worshipping towards the East," or the "Philosophical Criticism of Poetry."

One other Commoner must be separately noticed, that brilliant but ungovernable genius, WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR, who came up from Rugby in 1793. Southey remembered him vaguely as a "mad Jacobin," the first undergraduate who wore his hair without powder. In 1794, though his extraordinary talents and skill in composition had been recognised in spite of his eccentricities, he was sent down, not so much for a foolish escapade in firing into the windows of a detested Tory, as for subsequent attempts to evade acknowledgment. His own narrative is extant in a letter to a friend:

"In the morning I had been a-shooting; in the evening I invited a party to wine. In the room opposite there

lived a man universally laughed at and despised . . . and it unfortunately happened that he had a party on the same day, consisting of servitors and other raffs of every description. The weather was warm, and the windows were open; the consequence was, that those who were in my room began rowing those in his, who very soon retorted. All the time I was only a spectator . . . but my gun was lying on another table in the room. I had in my back closet some little shot, and I proposed, as they had closed the casements, and the shutters were on the outside to fire a volley. It was thought a good trick; and according I went into my bedroom and fired. Soon the president sent up a servant to inform me that Mr. Leeds had complained of a gun being fired from the room in which I entertained my company, but he could not tell by whom; so that he insisted on knowing from me, and making me liable to the punishment."

Landor unfortunately took the line of denying that a gun had been fired from his *room;* he was rusticated with an intimation that the authorities were anxious that he should return; but the consequent quarrel with his father changed his career altogether. An India-ink drawing by Branwhite of Bristol, dated 1847, is in the Common-room.

It may be doubted whether the large number of fellow- or gentleman-commoners was altogether a source of strength to the College, as it was only by degrees that they were again brought under any sort of educational discipline. In 1776 they were provided with a separate common-room in the ground-floor room on the left of staircase No. 12 (formerly 5,B.); and only noblemen were allowed to sit at high-table. But they

certainly paid their way handsomely, and the Benefactors' Books contain the names and arms of most of those mentioned, as well as of most ex-fellows and ex-scholars. The best pieces of Hall plate belong to this period, *e.g.*, the fine rosewater ewer and bason given by Lord North and Lord Dartmouth, the large cups of the Shaws, baronets of Eltham, and of the Turnours, Earls of Winterton, and the massive tankard of a Dilke of Maxstoke;[1] other similar gifts were the altar candlesticks[2] and a fine *répoussé* alms-dish, and the clock which was erected by Henry, 6th Duke of Beaufort, and his brother (Comm. 1784). The four or five benefactions of benefices and exhibitions have been mentioned at the end of the last chapter; large sums given for general purposes were spent on repairs to the buildings or on additions to the library. One considerable legacy aided the laying out of the garden in the formal style, which was completed in 1713, when 48 lime trees were planted at a cost of £8 13*s.* 9*d.* The iron gates and stone piers were erected at the same time. The arrangement is shown in Williams's view, re-engraved by Dr. Ingram; and is described in J. Pointer's Oxford Guide of 1749:

"The College garden is very pleasant, kept in extreme good order, planted with every variety of evergreens, and the walls all round cover'd with Green Yew in Pannel-work. Here was a wilderness extremely delightful with

[1] This is used ceremonially whenever any college boat makes a bump; the original ritual was an accompaniment not of *continuously* beaten baths, but of applause varied by the elementary music of tea-trays, kettles, and oil-cans.

[2] In 1793 Miss Althea Fanshawe of Shiplake presented a copy in needlework of B. West's "Resurrection." This was much admired as an altar-piece till 1833.

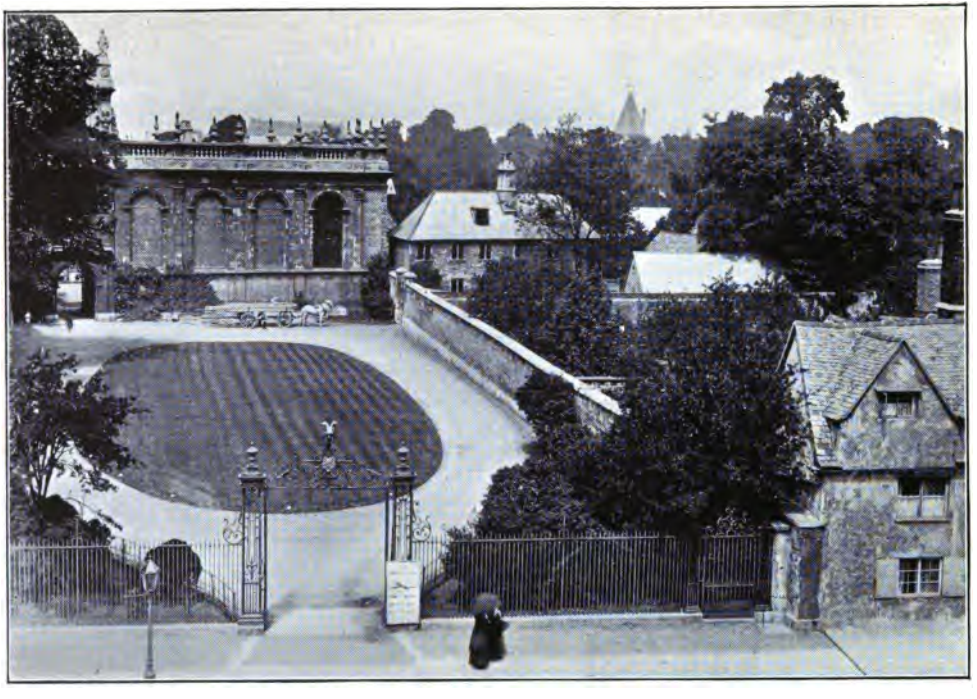
variety of mazes, in which 'tis easy for a man to lose himself. Here and there in this Labyrinth are plac'd Benches, inviting students to sit down and study. In the middle of all is a neat Fountain with Artificial Flowers on the Surface of the Water."

It is eulogised by Dr. Newton of Hart Hall as affording a useful illustration of the advantages of education. The yews were flattened back against the walls and cut to resemble panelling; and the small labyrinth which occupied the space S. of the Lime Walk, was still to be seen in 1813. Southey in the imaginary "Letters of Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella" mentions the

"wall of yew which encloses the garden on three sides, cut into regular pilasters and compartments. . . . I should lament if a thing, which is so perfect in its kind, and which has been raised with so many years of care, were to be destroyed, because it does not suit with the modern improved taste in gardening."

The front of the College was thrown open about 1737, when Lord Guilford presented the fine iron gates, now standing between two stone piers copied from those at the bottom of the garden. The attic story of the N. and W. sides of the garden quadrangle was raised to its present height in 1801–2 by a large subscription, and a similar alteration made over the kitchen and common-room rather later. The College thus assumed the appearance which it wore up to 1883.

In other ways also the latter half of the 18th century was a period of slow but definite reform. In 1772 the first attempt was made to improve the financial position by a resolution that the leases of the Stopesley and



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TRINITY COLLEGE FROM BROAD STREET, 1883

Bradwell tithes should be run out, and the loss in fines made up afterwards from the rack rents. The old system was not a bad one for a corporation, in that it threw the cost of collection and risk of unforeseen loss on a substantial tenant; but the fine system was a great obstacle to economy and regularity in expenditure. In 1771 occurs the first reference to investment of spare cash in "East India Bonds." In 1775 it was decided to pay the kitchen servants fixed salaries in lieu of perquisites; the institution of bedmakers was hardly recognised before the extinction of the servitors, and probably originated in the custom by which the richer men kept private servants, who battelled in their master's names. "Natives and residents of Ireland or any other distant province in the King's dominions" were charged double caution-money. In 1777 it was wisely ordered that "no public dinners, or entertainments be hereafter made for the Society, in the Hall, or Common Room, on any Occasion or Pretence whatever, at the Expense of Individuals"; but a dinner given by determining Bachelors on Ash Wednesday was only finally abolished in 1805, and at the same date there is a prohibition of "gracious wines." Hall dinner was at 3.0 P.M. and supper at 7.0 in 1775; the gentlemen-commoners' dinner cost 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* and their supper 1*s.* 6*d.*; others were allowed 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* and 9*d.*; and the Buttery charges might not exceed 15*d.* Entrance to the Cellar was prohibited in 1799, but a 6*d.* supper in the Kitchen was still allowed.

In the last quarter of the century the order-books begin to record attempts at educational reforms. The University exercises had long before this fallen into complete contempt and were quite useless till the insti-

tution of an examination system; they consisted chiefly of formal disputations on such questions as "An eadem causa producat diversos effectus," or "An bellum sit licitum," in which both opponent and respondent were provided with "strings" of syllogistic arguments. A poetical dialogue on the B.A. degree begins with a promise to lend the College "strings":

> "I'll give thee if thou lik'st the shortest three
> Term Trotters most esteem at Trinity:
> Moreover I'll instruct thee in the art
> Of doing them aright when got by heart."

It also describes the process of being shut up in the schools for 2 hours to "do Generals," which consisted of ordinary conversation broken perhaps by a formal visit from the Proctor or Vice-Chancellor; the ceremony of creating a "Soph"; and the forms for "Juraments" and "answering under Bachelor."

College lectures, etc., must also have been almost disused, since in 1778 it was an innovation that there should be five lectures in the week lasting for 1 hour after morning prayers, *i.e.*, from about 8.30 to 9.30. On Wednesdays and Fridays there were to be disputations *with double classes;* absence was punishable by impositions or by a translation of the amount read in lecture. Landor describes his disgust at finding himself down for a lecture on Justin, but characteristically employed the time in turning the story of the Phoceans into blank verse. In 1772 a "Premium" had been offered for "notes and observations" to be made on Cebes' Tablet during the Long Vacation, which indicates that some texts were read during term. In 1780

some regulations as to the tuition fees show that the duties were not always discharged by the fellows, whose main object was still church preferment; but the small number of resident fellows became increasingly occupied in general tutorial work. Efforts were made to stimulate industry by prizes, a fund being raised by subscription: £5 was given annually for the best Latin Declamation and the best English Essay, while Benwell and Richards, two scholars who obtained the University verse prizes, were presented with the works of Addison and Bacon. In 1778 the scholars were ordered to show up a theme and verses every Saturday at 1.0 P.M., being the "hour of Declamations," and to take them as corrected to the President on the following Tuesday.

Great importance was still attached to the "Narrare," delivered after dinner by an undergraduate standing by the "Griffin" in front of the high-table, even though it sometimes unexpectedly took the form of a "ludicrous and obscene declamation," which was followed by instant execution. In 1772 the *Narrare* was in Latin and delivered *memoriter*, but the composer was bound to furnish the president with an English translation of the same. It must have been an alarming institution, at any rate for a freshman; but even though the gentlemen-commoners were still exempt in 1797, when it was ordered that they should be liable for all the other work, the turn probably did not come round more than twice a year. The custom is described in its decline by a poetical freshman as follows:

> "Our Hall arrangement being said
> We must add too the Griffin's head
> In centre, made of Brass.

For what? you ask: why, not to eat
But for a kind of after treat
Whilst grosser viands pass.

"For you must know when appetite
Is by repletion vanish'd quite
And each has had enough,
(As by our seniors we are taught
Much as we can so much we ought
Of luxuries to stuff.)

"'Tis then before concluding grace
Some gownsman rising from his place,
Whilst servants bustle out,
Towards the Griffin walking slow,
To Fellows makes initial bow
And then begins to spout.

"Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ then
Or verses from the Mantuan pen
Sound in melodious strains,
Or lines from Milton's Paradise
With emphasis delivered nice
A just applause attains.

"Not that all equally excel
In speaking the *Narrare* well,
For so the task we name,
As some the lines in cap will read
Drawling like peasant o'er his creed
Before the village dame."

The fatal word Examination first occurs in an order of 1789 providing that the president and officers as well as the tutors shall be present in the Hall at some sort of *viva voce* collections in Lent and Act terms: but this

seems to have been unsystematic, till in 1809 it is resolved (1) that the future examinations of undergraduates shall be conducted on the plan of the Responsions in the Schools, not more than six being examined at once; (2) that every undergraduate shall be examined in one science at least in addition to that of Divinity, and in two classical authors, to be chosen by himself; and (3) that the "literary Prize fund" shall be revived to furnish books for those who distinguish themselves in these Collections. In 1818 the Dean used to exact "some exercise in Latin Prose" from every one weekly; previously Latin prose had been chiefly used as a "pensum literarium" imposed on culprits, who were shut up in the library to do it. In 1788 it was the chief minor penalty for intoxication, the scale being, for one offence, a paper of the *Spectator* to be translated into Latin; for the second, a sermon to be translated; for the third, 2 sermons; for the fourth, 2 sermons and a week's gating; for the fifth, a report to the father; and for the sixth, rustication for four terms.[1]

It is impossible to distinguish to whom these reforms are specially due; but the undergraduates a century ago imputed them to HENRY KETT, B.D. (Sch. 1777, Fell. 1784–1824). The poetical freshman made his acquaintance in 1790, and drank some of Warton's port at his table before matriculation: his first letter says patronisingly that

[1] Ordinary impositions were set by college officers and by the Proctors till well within living memory; but they were generally obtained from tradesmen or college servants, who "sweated" the servitors to write them. At Trinity the contractor was the College Barber, one Duff. In the present century the name of Randall occurs in this connexion.

"Well thro' this business did I get
By the kind aid of Mr. Kett
My learned Tutor—whom all we
Think wondrous wise at Trinity;
Attend his Lectures twice a week
And find him quite a Parr in Greek.
On short acquaintance I confess
I like his manners and address;
Tho' as to person and to mien
Few queerer mortals can be seen.
His Figure's awkward, gaunt, and thin,
His Face an ell from front to chin;
Yet still he talks with sense and ease
And bating Pedantry, can please."

But a year later he alludes more satirically to Kett's foibles, in advising an idle friend;

"Then be a classic nam'd
High in renown—of Trinity the Star,
Sweet Emily's guardian, friend to Grecian Parr,
Deep-read in Logic; in polemic style
Scarce equalled: nor in Poems Juvenile:
Should all these Titles not proclaim him yet,
Know in one word, I mean our Tutor Kett."

Kett, in spite of such indiscretions as "Juvenile Poems" and "Emily; a Moral Tale," and in spite of his equine features,[1] was really an able man. He was Bampton Lecturer in 1790, and one of the first Classical Examiners

[1] He is the subject of one of the best of Dighton's caricatures, "A View from Trinity," dated 1807; but Copleston, provost of Oriel, was considered to have gone too far, when he affixed to a controversial pamphlet directed against Kett a motto from Virgil, "Equo ne credite, Teucri."

in 1803–4. He also wrote manuals of Logic, etc., and was very generous in his gifts to the College.

His youthful critic was one JOHN SKINNER (Com 1790), a great-great-grandson of the Trinity Bishop of Oxford. His poetical letters and other effusions are contained in a neat MS. volume now in the Bodleian; he was an enthusiastic antiquarian and etymologist, and Rector of Camerton 1800–39; and left some valuable books to the College library. His verses have no great merit, but one piece contains a detailed description of a day of his life in Trinity. He had rooms in "Bathurst" or "President's Buildings," and took over the furniture of the previous occupant at two-thirds of cost price.[1]

In the winter of 1792, then, the bell rang with "jangling notes and shrill," as it does now, for chapel at 8.0; and many of the undergraduates arrived "tardy," half-dressed indeed, but hardly "like angells." Besides gowns, bands were *de rigueur* at chapel and lectures.

"But to proceed: Your friend returns
To rooms to see if fire burns
Or whether water boils;
For now again he must renew
By washing hands, and shaving too
Late interrupted toils.

"Rolls smoking hot at half-past eight
And George[2] and butter on a plate

[1] The whole of this letter with extracts from others is printed in Miss L. M. Quiller-Couch's excellent "Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men," being vol. xxii. of the Oxford Historical Society publications. Only a few stanzas can be inserted here.

[2] "Brown George" (Wesley) or "George Brown" (Southey) was a kind of Household Loaf.

The scarecrow Thomas brings;
Laying a napkin passing white
Tea equipage he puts in sight
Whilst loud the kettle sings."

Skinner breakfasted and read with a home friend, named Dawson Warren.

"At half-past nine,[1]—tea drinking o'er
And cups return'd thro' pantry door,
Our books we take instead;
By turns Virgilian murmurs please
Or thunders from Demosthenes
Hurl'd 'gainst the Tyrant's head.

. . .

"At one, exactly on the stroke,
The time expir'd for sporting Oak,
My outer door's unbarr'd."

Then they walked, or possibly skated on Christ Church meadow, till

"A quarter wanting now of three
On ent'ring gates of Trinity
For dressing will suffice;
As Highland barber, far fam'd Duff,
Within that time will plenty puff
Of lime in both my eyes."

The barber had to dress at least thirty heads for dinner at 3 P.M. In Hall the fellow-commoners sat in silk gowns at the high table; the bachelors and scholars had tables below the fire, and the rest of the commoners filled two tables along the east wall. Dinner was

[1] But another poem, perhaps referring to summer term, mentions a lecture in Hall on the Gospels, given by the saintly and popular Benwell immediately after chapel.

ordered in the morning by the head of the "set," and names could not be taken off after 10 A.M.

"*Narrare* finish'd—and grace said
Vice-Pres. and Fellows take the lead
And march away to wine;
We in our turn their steps pursue,
Sen. Coms., A.B.'s, and Scholars too,
Where'er our steps incline.

"For now some ten or dozen get
By fore appointment in a set
To taste inviter's Port;
He glasses, plates, and spoons prepares,
Decanters, knives and forks, and chairs,
But each his own dessert."

This was bought from a fruiterer who went round the common-rooms and private wines with a basket and book. The "jovial toasts," "mirth and song," etc., carry the party on till past afternoon chapel, for which the bell rings at five; at six there is some idea of tea and coffee; but the revel proceeds, till at nine the scout appears with a "tray" as ordered for supper.

"Boil'd fowl, salt herrings, sausages,
Cold beef, and brawn, and bread and cheese,
With tankards full of ale;"

which become his perquisites, when he has conducted the guests across the quadrangle,

"In lanthorn stuck his two-inch candle,"

and has put them to bed safely.

Of course Messrs. Skinner and Warren had a more polite form of wine at which they sat and chatted till 5.30, and then indulged in a musical evening, the

amateurs being aided by a few professionals, such as young Wm. Crotch, afterwards organist of Christ Church and professor of Music, who is described at length, with two others called Jonge and Inchbald.

"Whilst pause the flute's and viol's sound
The tea and toast are handed round
Till each has had enough,
And then brisk punch and lemonade
May suit, when a full piece is play'd,
Better than weaker stuff."

Supper at 9.30 is followed by negus or "hot egg-flip," and perhaps by less serious music; the guests depart at eleven.

"I wish, friend Will, that thou wert here
To give thy favourite hunting-cheer
Or famous Tally-ho;
Although perhaps the President
Might start, and asking what it meant
In haste send up to know."

Later effusions dwell on the amusement of sailing on the lower river, then the only alternative to various forms of riding and shooting; the friends had a "light built galley," named the Hobbyhorse, in which they sailed to Iffley, Sandford, or Nuneham, to play quoits or skittles: others had their choice of

"Skiff, gig, and cutter or canoe."

One letter reports the visit of Montleveaux, a "Knight of Malta" to "mess at College;" and the sights of Oxford and the neighbourhood are described in the most approved style.

CHAPTER IX

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Presidents: Thomas Lee, D D., 1808–24; James Ingram, D.D. 1824–50; John Wilson, D.D., 1850–66; Samuel William Wayte, B.D., 1866–78; Rev. John Percival, M.A., 1878–87; Henry George Woods, D.D., 1887–97; Henry Francis Pelham, M.A., 1897.

THE history of the College in the present century falls into two nearly equal divisions, the period of internal reforms, and the period of external reforms. It is too early yet to estimate exactly the extent and value of either set of changes; but the total alteration effected by the Royal Commission of 1854, and still more by that of 1877, though not yet fully realised, is so great that the first half of the century is almost ancient history, though some of it is within living memory. It is not possible here to do more than select a few salient facts from the documentary materials for this period; nor is it suitable to use too freely the memoirs and letters of men who were undergraduates early in the century. Many of those who have helped to determine the lines of the development of the College still survive, including at this moment[1] no less than three ex-presidents; some few biographical reminiscences are already in print, while others in the fluid form of more or less accurate tradi-

[1] Written before Mr. Wayte's death on 7 Sept., 1898.

tion may perhaps even now be crystallising in the note-books of some modern Wood or Hearne.

In 1808 President Chapman was succeeded by THOMAS LEE, D.D. (Sch. 1778, Fell. 1784–1807), then Rector of Barton-on-the-Heath, who had been non-resident since 1790. All authorities unite with Newman to describe him as a "courteous gentlemanlike man," who left everything to the fellows. As Vice-Chancellor 1814–8 he lived in "calm easy-going days, and in an amiable, unobtrusive manner," so as to leave little impression on the memory of the garrulous Bedel Cox; "in his private and college life he was highly esteemed; he also played a steady second violin part in a quartette." He died 5 June 1824, and rests in the antechapel; his wife Ann Lee, who left the advowson fund £300 in 1841, was the last person buried in the College. He is represented by a plaster bust in the library. His successor, JAMES INGRAM, D.D. (Sch. 1794, Fell. 1803–17), was a man of very different calibre, who had been nominated with Lee in 1808. He had been discovered at Warminster School by the headmaster, Thos. Huntingford (Sch. 1769–73), and assisted by his better-known brother, who held the wardenship of Winchester with the bishopric of Hereford. Ingram was Rawlinsonian professor of Anglo-Saxon 1803–8, and Keeper of the Archives 1815–18; he published editions of the Saxon Chronicle, Quintilian, etc., but was best known as a diligent antiquary and contributor to archæological journals; his "little book," the Memorials of Oxford, though wholly uncritical, is still valued for its engravings by Le Keux. When Newman matriculated, Ingram had just retired to the college

rectory of Rotherfield Greys, having been more popular as tutor than the far more efficient "Tommy" Short. As President he was little known to the undergraduates, though they respected him as a "church-militant or physical force man," especially in view of the fact that a French horn or any other

"noise in quad. was liable to draw him from his lair. . . . Once a noisy party in the quad. near his door, and not far from his study window, were cracking a tandem-whip. Out rushed Ingram, snatched the whip from one man's hand, and flipped and flanked about right and left most vigorously, while the men ran screeching with laughter away."

The victims of such discipline consoled their "offended honour" by a story that Ingram had been celebrated as a Cornish wrestler.[1]

Ingram corresponded voluminously with other antiquaries and literary men, and was a member of many learned societies, and influential in the University on points of taste. He lived much at Garsington and, dying 4 Sept. 1850, was buried in the chancel there. Two portraits of him are in the president's lodgings. He bequeathed to the College several portraits and pictures, a chaotic mass of papers, scrap-books containing fly-leaves, impressions of seals, and prints of every description, casts and coins, and his extensive library, which nearly doubled the number of volumes

[1] The Rev. James Pycroft's "Oxford Memories," published in 1886, are perhaps a little too long after the author's own undergraduate days to be used with anything but the greatest caution as to matters of fact; but they have some value as impressions of the manners of 1831.

owned by the College,[1] and made it necessary to spoil the old Jacobean book-cases by raising them to the roof. Partly from this bequest, and partly from the influence of previous antiquarians, the old library is well provided with topographical works, many scarce and valuable.

In one respect Ingram's memory must be anathematised by subsequent researchers; he was unable to refrain from annotating with marginal or interlineal scrawls, often frankly irrelevant, not only his own books, but also the parish and College registers, the admission books, ledgers, and documents of every kind. As these comments are chiefly in ink and sometimes unblotted, the effect is indescribable.[2] His successor, President Wilson, the neatest and most methodical of men, never went further than a cross reference in pencil; but drew up catalogues and dissertations, showing the most profound knowledge of the College archives, in a hand which is not seldom wholly illegible. It was reserved for President Wayte to combine extensive information with complete lucidity both of writing and statement.

A change which was soon to produce the most important consequences in the development of the College was at the time thought so slight that no notice of it whatever is found in the order-book or register. The scholars were elected to the 2 or 3 vacancies every Trinity Monday by the President and officers, the tutors as such having no vote in the matter; and they had

[1] Conrad von Uffenbach in 1754 thought the room and the collection "klein und schlecht."

[2] His executors, with unconscious appropriateness, inserted a brass plate to his memory in the chancel at Garsington, in the middle of a fine tomb-slab of the 13th century.

been hitherto almost invariably selected from the resident commoners. In Nov. 1817 a young freshman, JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, wrote to his mother;

"If any one wishes to study much, I believe that there can be no college that will encourage him more than Trinity. It is wishing to rise in the University and is rising fast. The scholarships were formerly open only to members of the college; last year, for the first time, they were thrown open to the whole University. In discipline it has become one of the strictest of the colleges. There are lamentations in every corner of the increasing rigour; it is laughable, but it is delightful, to hear the groans of the oppressed."

In 1818[1] Newman having been invited by the tutors, Wilson and Short, to stand for a scholarship, was himself elected Blount scholar, becoming one of the 12 foundation scholars in 1819. The examination, mostly *viva voce*, seems to have been held all day on Trinity Monday only:

"They made me first do some verses; then Latin translation; then Latin theme; then chorus of Euripides; then an English theme; then some Plato; then some Lucretius; then some Xenophon; then some Livy. What is more distressing than suspense? At last I was called to the place where they had been voting; the Vice-Chancellor [President Lee] said some Latin over me; then made a speech. The electors then shook hands with me, and I

[1] In 1885, when he sent to the library a complete set of his works, his last letter to the College concluded with the words, "This May the 18th is the anniversary of the Monday on which in 1818 I was elected a member of your foundation. May your yearly festival ever be as happy a day to you all as in 1818 it was to me."

immediately assumed the scholar's gown. . . . By this I am a scholar for nine years at 60*l.* a year. In which time, if there be no Fellow of my county (among the Fellows), I may be elected Fellow, as a regular thing, for five years without taking orders."

This reform has been generally attributed to the Rev. Thos. Short (Sch. 1808, Fell. 1816–79), a man of great practical ability, common sense, kindness, and humour, who, with John Wilson, afterwards President, and Wm. Morgan Kinsey (Sch. 1807, Fell. 1825–44), who died Rector of Rotherfield Greys in 1851, was constantly resident,[1] and managed the College so that "the reading men met much encouragement, and the hunting and sporting men were rarely refused leave of absence from lecture." But the credit more probably belongs to Ingram, since his first act as president was to abolish, with the support of the Visitor, Bishop Tomline, in spite of the nervous opposition of the fellows, the abuse by which the scholarships were held for five or six years after the B.A. degree. The statutes distinctly specified 24 as the age for superannuation; in practice this meant 8 years with a ninth thrown in, though since the last order on the subject a custom had grown up of declaring the scholarship vacant if the holder took priest's orders, which would prove him to be at least 24. Ingram based his action on the desirability of assisting

[1] Short was fellow for 63 years, but as Senior Fellow he is easily distanced by J. G. Griffinhoofe (Sch. 1790, Fell. 1797, Senior Fellow 1824–57); Josias Howe was fellow *de jure* 64 years and Senior Fellow 54, or counting from the Restoration 41 years. In 1827 Short had only one vote less than Thomas Arnold for the headmastership of Rugby.

more students and providing a larger number of competitors for the fellowships. The election of 1825 was deferred some weeks till the question was settled; and, vested interests being secured, the final decision was that ex-scholars as well as scholars were to be eligible for fellowships. These were not thrown open to general competition for some years longer; but in 1843 ROBERT ORNSBY, afterwards fellow of the Royal University of Ireland and librarian to the Duke of Norfolk, was elected from Lincoln College, followed in 1848 by the present BISHOP OF OXFORD, who came from Christ Church, and in 1858 by ROBINSON ELLIS, scholar of Balliol, who after 35 years as a fellow of Trinity, was obliged on becoming Professor of Latin to migrate formally, though not bodily, to Corpus Christi College. He was elected Honorary Fellow in 1894, together with the Rt. Hon. JAMES BRYCE, D.C.L. (Sch. 1857–62), Regius Prof. of Civil Law 1870–93, and ALBERT VENN DICEY, B.C.L. (Fell. 1860–73), Vinerian Prof. of English Law 1882.

The average undergraduate does not keep careful diaries or write home-letters of sufficient interest to merit publication, though 200 or 300 years hence such as survive may be valuable documents; and exceptional ability is often unrecognised till later in life. JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, and his intimate friend JOHN WILLIAM BOWDEN (Com. 1817), one of the contributors to the "Lyra Apostolica," stood rather apart from the social life of their "most gentlemanlike College," worked furiously, and lived religiously on the evangelical principles which in Oxford developed so strangely into Tractarianism. As a freshman, Newman was much entertained with the novelty of hall-dinner;

"Fish flesh and fowl, beautiful salmon, haunches of mutton, lamb, &c., fine strong beer, served up in old pewter plates and misshapen earthenware jugs. Tell mamma there were gooseberry, raspberry, and apricot pies. And in all this the joint did not go round, but there was such a profusion that scarcely two ate of the same. Neither do they sit according to their rank, but as they happen to come in."

In 1817–8 he made much progress in his mathematics, with help from Short, though he thought the lectures "childishly easy." Newman however read too hard and too fast, and was partly distracted by miscellaneous reading and early literary ventures; in 1819–20 he was allowed to stop up in the vacations and use the fellows' library; and, having some idea of going into the Law, he attended the lectures of the Regius Professor of Modern History, "hearing that the names were reported to the Minister."[1] But he could not keep cool; and as he "fagged at an average of more than twelve hours a day" for 20 weeks before the schools, it is no wonder he broke down. An Oriel fellowship reversed this verdict; and Newman, though transplanted to another college, retained, like many other scholars since, the warmest feelings towards the foundation of Trinity.[2] To it his thoughts turned affectionately when he left Oxford for Oscott in 1846:—

[1] Probably a lingering tradition of the history studentships instituted by the Government at the time of the foundation of the chair by George I.

[2] And towards Short's encouragements to persevere in the Oriel examination, manifested at a critical moment in the substantial form of lamb-cutlets and fried parsley.

"I called on Dr. Ogle,[1] one of my very oldest friends, for he was my private Tutor, when I was an Undergraduate. In him I took leave of my first college, Trinity, which was so dear to me, and which held on its foundation so many who had been kind to me both when I was a boy, and all through my Oxford life. Trinity had never been unkind to me. There used to be much snap-dragon growing on the walls opposite my freshman's rooms there, and I had for years taken it as the emblem of my own perpetual residence even unto death in my University."

Newman's first return to Oxford was in Feb. 1878 on his election to an Honorary Fellowship at Trinity; he came again as Cardinal in 1880. A brilliant copy of the Oriel portrait by Ouless, painted and presented by Miss Percival, hangs in the Hall.

The open elections soon attracted the competition of the ablest undergraduates; and within 20 years of Newman, the College elected ISAAC WILLIAMS[2] (Sch. 1822, Fell. 1831–42), one of the gentlest of the Tractarians, though as a tutor "too good for this world; his rule was too strict and his standard too high to work with"; WM. JOHN COPELAND (Sch. 1824, Fell. 1832–50), editor of Newman's Parochial Sermons and rector of Farnham

[1] JAMES ADEY OGLE, D.M. (Sch. 1812–9), Regius Professor of Medicine 1851–7. One of his daughters married Radcliffe's Observer, Manuel Johnson, the constant host of the Tractarian party. Another "good physician," WM. ALEX. GREENHILL, D.M. (Exh. 1832), was also settled in Oxford and intimate with the same circle. He was a man of much curious learning on ancient and medieval medicine, and of great and unostentatious generosity to poor students; shortly before his death in 1894 he gave many interesting objects and papers to Trinity; and others have been presented by his daughter.

[2] The Munich-glass window over the door of the Chapel was erected to his memory by a subscription.

(Essex) 1849–85; Sir Henry Davison (Sch. 1824–9), Chief Justice of Bombay 1858; Herman Merivale (Sch. 1825–8), first Ireland Scholar, Professor of Political Economy 1837–42, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1848, and for India in 1859; Thos. Lewin (Sch. 1825–9), author of valuable works on Law and New Testament Chronology; Edw. Turner Boyd Twisleton (Sch. 1826–30), Poor Law, Public School, and Civil Service Commissioner 1845–70; Thos. Legh Claughton (Sch. 1827, Fell. 1832–42), Prof. of Poetry, Bishop of Rochester 1867, and of St. Albans 1877–90; Sir George Kettilby Rickards (Sch. 1829–35), Prof. of Political Economy 1852–7, and Counsel to the Speaker 1851–82; Henry Peter Guillemard (Sch. 1829, Fell. 1836–47), senior of the two proctors who vetoed the condemnation of Tract 90; Roundell Palmer, Earl of Selborne[1] (Sch. 1830–34), eventually Lord High Chancellor of England 1872–4 and 1880–5; John Thomas (Sch. 1830–4), Vicar of All Hallows Barking 1852–83, and Canon of Canterbury; Arthur West Haddan[2] (Sch. 1835, Fell. 1840–58), a learned

[1] There is a pleasant narrative, too long to quote, of Lord Selborne's life and friends as scholar of Trinity in "Memorials Family and Personal," vol. i., pt. i., cc. viii., ix., with brilliant sketches of Short and Williams. The "Autobiography of Isaac Williams," on the other hand, contains little of interest. Pycroft's unveracious "memories" relate to the same period.

[2] Bishop Forbes of Brechin sketches Haddan as "too intolerant of slovenly work or idleness to be popular with the inferior class of undergraduates, who feared his sharp criticisms and somewhat caustic comments; but he secured the respect and deep affection of the better sort, as he esteemed no pains excessive in helping those who were helping themselves. He was a tutor of the earlier school. Deeply solicitous not only of the intellectual advancement but of the spiritual welfare of those committed to his charge, he realised, in no

contributor to the *Guardian* and the "Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology," who also wrote on the "Apostolic Succession," and was co-editor with Wm. Stubbs (Fell. 1848–51), now Bishop of Oxford, of the "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents"; Vere Henry Hobart, Lord Hobart (Sch. 1836–42), Governor of Madras 1872–5, an able writer on political subjects; Ralph Robert Wheeler Lingen (Sch. 1837–41, Hon. Fell. 1886), now Lord Lingen, permanent secretary to the Committee of Council on Education 1849–70, and to the Treasury 1870–85; Samuel William Wayte, afterwards President; and Mountague Bernard (Sch. 1838–44), Chichele Prof. of International Law 1859–74, and Royal Commissioner on international questions. It would take many pages to enumerate the academical honours of this distinguished company, which usually concluded with a fellowship at Balliol, Oriel, Queen's, All Souls, or some other open College, since there were only 12 fellowships at Trinity; while many others not mentioned here also obtained fellowships, and were successful and useful in church and state.

A rather later generation of scholars was also of peculiar interest;

"at Trinity, owing very much to the influence of Isaac Williams and Mr. Copeland, the Churchmanship was of a much more Anglican type; and on it was founded that historical school,"

which was encouraged by Haddan, and is adorned in

ordinary degree, the responsibility which a college tutor incurs, and never sought popularity at the price of neglect of duty. It was the same in the office of Pro-proctor, which he held more than once."

various branches by the Trinity names of Stubbs, Rawlinson, Freeman, Basil Jones, Cox, Bryce, Dicey, Pelham, Bosworth Smith, and Sanday. The set of twelve scholars elected 1840–3, was famed in the University for a "Trinity ἦθος," which one of the survivors[1] has defined as

"a combination of manliness and gentleness, spiritualised by a most true and abiding sense of religion . . . Chiefly it resulted from our loyally accepting and realising the true idea of College life. We loved to regard each other, Fellows and Scholars, as members of one family, our Founder's; not as isolated individuals, who by superior cleverness had earned money prizes involving no duties and responsibilities, and creating no relations with others—we were a family of brothers, emulating not envying one another, gladly learning from each other, without jealousy one of another, and possessing for the time a common family character."

Dean Church, who knew them well, speaks of a keen appreciation of scholarship and of accurate learning for its own sake, with a "judicial and balanced thoughtfulness," as characteristic of his friends in Trinity; and Clough[2] recalls their interest in æsthetic subjects in an allusion to the talk at "Trinity wines, about Gothic buildings and Beauty." They have gone many different

[1] Prebendary F. Meyrick, rector of Blickling, in a narrative prefixed to Hort's Memorials of W. B. Marriott, 1873; partly reprinted in the Dean of Winchester's Life of E. A. Freeman.

[2] There was a small debating society, called "Hermes," about this time, composed of Balliol and Trinity men. Meyrick mentions Riddell and Edwin Palmer as belonging to the set; and three commoners of Trinity, T. B. Colenso, J. L. Patterson (now titular Bishop of Emmaus), and J. W. Ogle, D.M.

ways; but some still remain to testify at the Trinity Gaudy to the early brilliance of the scholars of 1840, Wm. Basil Jones, Bishop of St. David's 1874–97; Sir George F. Bowen, G.C.M.G., Governor of Victoria, Queensland, New Zealand, Mauritius, and Hong-Kong; and Henry James Coleridge, a member of the Order of Jesuits; of the scholars of 1841, Arthur De Butts, fellow of Oriel, who died young in 1847; Edward Augustus Freeman (Fell. 1845–7, Hon. Fell. 1880), the great historian, Regius Prof. of Modern History 1884–92; Edward Tindal Turner, Registrar of the University 1870–97; and Henry Musgrave Wilkins, who translated the "Speeches of Thucydides"; of the scholar of 1842, Wm. George Tupper, Warden and Chaplain of the House of Charity in Soho; of those of 1843, Wharton Booth Marriott, a Master at Eton 1850–71; Wm. Gifford Palgrave, the versatile Jesuit missionary, traveller, Consul at Trebizond, Manila, Sofia, Bangkok, and Minister in Uruguay; Frederick Meyrick (Fell. 1847–60), well known as a writer and churchman; and Wm. Foxley Norris, now rector of Witney, who is, like the two scholars of 1847, North Pinder (Fell. 1851–61), now rector of Rotherfield Greys, and Wm. Wood (Fell. 1851–63), now vicar of Cropredy, an honorary Canon of Christ Church. The names of Isaac Gregory Smith (Sch. 1845), of Cholmeley Austen-Leigh (Sch. 1848, Fell. 1852–64) and of Robert Edw. Bartlett (Sch. 1849, Fell. 1853–60) are hardly needed to prove that no artificial point such as the death of Ingram in 1850 can be taken as a very definite mark of division between the ancient and modern history of the College.

It is difficult to imagine a stronger testimony to the influence of early friendships or to the affection often felt towards a College than the life and letters of E. A. Freeman, whose interest not only in history, but also in ethical questions and architecture, owed much to his training at Trinity. As fellow he resided till his early marriage, re-reading his schools work in a leisurely manner, "doing all I can for our own scholars," and getting up Architectural Societies. In his fellowship he was succeeded by Dr. Stubbs. His biographer has revealed to the world the extent to which his arrangements for the year turned on the Trinity Gaudy. Ill health prevented him from being present at his election to an honorary fellowship in 1880 on

"such a Trinity Monday as had not been in the days of Ingram, Wilson, or Wayte. The Cardinal in all his toggery, and I, *mea parvitas*, set alongside of him, as Honorary Fellows! I believe Bryce made a mighty pretty speech."

The fellow-commoners did not long survive the obligation to "do all the exercises" done by the other undergraduates; and the traditional estimate of the commoners of Trinity as "forty men and forty horses" must always have been an ideal rather than a reality, since the average number of admissions (excluding scholars) was about 15 for the first quarter, and about 20 for the second quarter of the century. The fox's head cup (probably used for drinking toasts or sconces) lettered "Charlbury Hunt: Post Victoriam Triumphus" belongs to earlier times. The lowest number of admissions was 8 in 1804, the highest 31 in 1837; this was not exceeded till 1879, since which date the average

has been 40 and the average total number of resident undergraduates about 140. Temporary diminutions seem to have been due to the number of military commissions thrown open by the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny.

Among commoners some have already found their way into the Dictionary of National Biography; there are many others who are qualifying for the honour, though not (it is to be hoped) for the supplement already announced. Sir George Clerk (Com. 1806) was M.P. 1811–52 for Midlothian, Stamford and Dover, a Lord of the Admiralty, Under-Secretary for the Home Department, Secretary to the Treasury, and Vice-President of the Board of Trade; John Edw. Nassau Molesworth (Com. 1808) was vicar of Rochdale from 1840, and an active parochial organiser and controversialist; Sir Wm. Hayter Goodenough (Com. 1810) was M.P. for Wells, Secretary to the Treasury, and a practical agriculturist and free-trader; Richard Ford (Com. 1813) settled in Spain and became a great authority on Spanish art; George Alex. Hamilton (Com. 1818) was a prominent Conservative politician in Ireland, Financial Secretary and Permanent Secretary to the Treasury; Sir Peter Hesketh Fleetwood (Com. 1819) founded the thriving town of Fleetwood; Sir Thomas Pycroft (Com. 1826) was the first Writer appointed by competitive examination in the East India Company service, in which he rose to a very high position in the Government of Madras; Samuel Brandram (Com. 1842) was a famous public reader and elocutionist; and Sir Richard Francis Burton (Com. 1840) was a man of exceptional ability as

a linguist and traveller, whose career has been presented to the public so lately and in such detail that it need not be repeated here. Burton has left an amusing account of his first year at Oxford, from which it appears that at 19½ he was as exceptional an undergraduate on the one side, as Cardinal Newman, to whose sermons he used to listen ("when I would never give half an hour to any other preacher") was on the other side. Burton spent the Long Vacation before his admission with Dr. Ogle and Dr. Greenhill, but they failed to make him remove his "splendid moustache." His continental training had predisposed him to think of his future companions as "queer beings," and they probably thought him still queerer;

"as I passed through the entrance of the College, a couple of brother collegians met me, and the taller one laughed in my face. Accustomed to continental decorum, I handed him my card and called him out. But the college lad, termed by courtesy an Oxford man, had possibly read of duels, had probably never touched a weapon, sword or pistol, and his astonishment was unbounded. Explanations succeeded, and I went my way sadly, and felt as if I had fallen among *épiciers*."

However, he soon found ways of amusing himself, continentally and academically;

"I caused myself to be let down by a rope into the Master of Balliol's garden, plucked up some of the finest flowers by the roots, and planted in their place great staring marigolds," etc. "Another prank was to shoot with an air-cane, at a brand-new watering-pot," etc. "Another neat use of the air-cane was to shoot the unhappy rooks, over the heads of the dons," etc. etc.

Burton's occupations were walking, rowing, and the school-at-arms; "I was one of the oars in the College Torpid, and a friend and I challenged the River in a two-oar, but unfortunately both of us were rusticated before the race came off."

However, he learnt something,—fencing from Archibald Maclaren, the elements of Arabic from a casual acquaintance, and so forth; and he made a few respectable friends, such as H. J. Coleridge and E. A. Freeman, but he hated all the habits of the place, especially the heavy breakfasts and hall-dinners, and the wines, "which would have injured the digestion of a young shark," the continuous noise of bells, the English pronunciation of Latin, and the idea of reading for a first class. "The fellows of Trinity were nice gentlemanly men, but I by no means wished to become one of the number." After a Long Vacation on the Rhine his father forced him to return to Oxford;

"I went there with no good will, and as my father had refused to withdraw me from the University, I resolved to withdraw myself. . . . My object was to be rusticated, not expelled."

Driving a tandem to a steeplechase and race-ordinary was selected as "the clue"; but attempts at justification, if that was all, led to what Burton announced to the family circle as "an extra vacation for taking a double-first with the highest honours," and soon afterwards to an Indian cadetship.

In Burton's time, cricket was still the amusement of the comparatively wealthy, owing to the lavish expenditure on conveyances, meals, and hangers-on, considered

necessities, and football was still looked on as a game for school-boys; but the river was already an institution, and though the College was for a long time too small and too much given to the individualistic pursuits of riding and hunting to excel in an occupation which requires persistent co-operation, yet an Eight eventually fought its way to the top, and stayed there for what was then an unusually long period. It would be outside the scope of a short history to catalogue the athletic distinctions not unfrequently combined with those academical honours which have also gone unspecified here; but though both are transient in comparison with such achievements of famous Trinity men as must find a place in even the briefest account of the College, they continue to indicate an amount of energy in work and play which promises well for future success in other fields. One name, however, that of A. J. Webbe, M.A. (Com. 1874), Captain of the Middlesex Cricket Club, is probably as well known as that of most living public men, and cannot be omitted. Past generations helped to provide the present "Consolidated Clubs" with a handsome and commodious barge in 1889, and the same liberality will doubtless respond willingly to an appeal for assistance in the provision of a spacious, and yet accessible, cricket and football ground near the King's Mill at the end of "Mesopotamia," from which the games will never be driven by the encroachment of the new streets.

Many of the antique accompaniments of life in College died hard during the present century, such as the practice of keeping all registers and accounts in Latin; a servant only recently pensioned added to the office of

"carbonarius" those of "scoparius et lampadum curator" in 1857. There are many references to the darkness of the quadrangles and staircases before gas was laid on in 1857; the chapel was first warmed in the same year. Till 1859 there was no "City water" in the garden quadrangle; and the clock had no minute hand till 1862. Hot breakfasts were allowed "under proper limitations on the system usual elsewhere" in 1853, but not without protest. The Bursars were partly paid by perquisites up to 1825; and minor kitchen expenses were charged in battels as "decrements," sometimes corrupted into "decoraments." "Commoners' exhibitions" as a substitute for prizes at collections appear in 1853; the subjects were, for seniors, Acts, Phaedo or Ethics I. II., Thuc. I. II., Livy I.–III., Cicero Tusc. Disp., and Greek and Latin Prose; for juniors, St. Matthew, Demosth. de Corona, Sophocles Œd. Col., Cicero In Verr. Div. I. II.; Horace Odes, I.–III., and Greek and Latin Prose. Sunday afternoon chapel was at 7.0 P.M., after dinner at 5.0 P.M., till 1855, when chapel was fixed for 4.30 or 5.0, and dinner for 5.30. Till 1861 it was customary for all fellows and scholars to approach the altar rails after the Nicene Creed. A payment of £10 for "training the College Choir" occurs first in 1874, but there was no organ till 1876, when one was presented by President Wayte; this was replaced by a more powerful instrument in 1896. Some handsome plate was given to the Fellows' Common Room by JAMES RANDALL (Sch. 1810, Fell. 1818–24), Archdeacon of Berks and Canon of Bristol, JOSEPH SMITH (Sch. 1815, Fell. 1824–52), many years Bursar, and rector of Rotherfield Greys, where he built the

district church of Highmore Cross, and H. P. GUILLEMARD. Some small articles "in usum Bacc." were bought from the sale of the books and furniture of the Bachelors' Common Room c. 1821, and a few memorial cups and pint or half-pint pots were added to the plate-book. Other valuable gifts have accumulated, such as most of the portraits in the Hall,[1] and the early Swiss glass in the oriel window, which was presented by Mr. George Smith, at the suggestion of Canon R. Duckworth (Fell. 1860–76); the beautiful set of 7 windows in the Chapel, commemorating Durham College saints, given by President Woods, then Bursar, in 1885; the silver altar cross bought by subscription in 1890, and the present stamped-velvet altar-cloth given by Canon C. Gore (Fell. 1875–95) in 1895; and a large number of drawings and prints of Trinity views and worthies given to the Common Room and the President's Lodgings, mostly by Dr. Woods and Mr. R. W. Raper, now Vice-President and Bursar. To commemorate such annual generosities a new "Liber Benefactorum" was started in 1890, with a record of the various funds given or bequeathed since Bathurst's vellum register was unfortunately discontinued about 1825.

In 1850, Ingram was succeeded by JOHN WILSON, D.D. (Sch. 1807, Fell. 1816), who retired in 1866 to Woodperry House near Oxford, where he died 8 July 1873, and was buried in Holywell Cemetery. In his time the College took the final steps required for putting the rents of the estates on the same footing as those of

[1] Four of the most modern portraits have been purchased, and others will follow, from a sum of £500 given by a member of the College who prefers to do this and other generous acts anonymously.

ordinary land-owners. The old lease of Holcombe Grange had already been run out under a resolution of 1822; and in 1854 it was ordered that no beneficial lease should be renewed or new life inserted in a copyhold anywhere, and that a "Lease Redemption Fund" should be formed to compensate for the temporary losses incurred by foregoing the usual fines. This operation brought the estates into their present condition as to tenure, etc., though the Agricultural Depression, which set in before it was half completed, has prevented it from producing anything like the anticipated increase of revenue. Nor is tithe-rent charge as steady an investment as tithe was in the days of the Founder, or even in those of far-sighted Prior Robert de Walworth. With the change of tenure have vanished most of the ceremonies connected with the management of the estates, such as the Manor Court at Wroxton, in which a jury of copyholders was empanelled in the great hall of the Abbey before the President and Fellows.

In 1850 the Royal Commissioners "to inquire into the State, Discipline, Studies and Revenues of the University and Colleges of Oxford," were appointed, and they issued a Blue-book early in 1852. The evidence from Trinity College consists of the acknowledgment of a printed copy of the Commission by the President, who adopted a rigidly *non possumus* attitude towards the whole affair. Others, such as Haddan and Wayte, who had been secretaries of Mr. Gladstone's Committee at the University election of 1847, were in favour of considerable reforms; and Wayte succeeded Dean Stanley as secretary to the University Commissioners in 1854–8.

An attempt to clear up some of the difficulties in the statutes and to introduce slight alterations, by means of a "Visitation" from Bishop Sumner, in Jan. and Feb. 1853, served chiefly to show that in many points the old statutes were unworkable. In some details they had been tacitly broken or evaded from the very first, especially where they conflicted with the law of the land as enacted in and after the time of Elizabeth; in others they had been re-enforced by the decisions of conscientious majorities and visitors, as in the question of the necessity for all fellows to take Holy Orders.[1] The Commission was reopened in 1854, and the Old Statutes printed in 1855; certain ordinances amending them were sealed 28 March 1857. The alterations were not very extensive; all existing restrictions on the elections were removed, and the legal tenure of fellowships, offices, and scholarships made to conform to the existing practice, while 5 out of the 12 fellowships were thrown open to laymen;[2] the College, not being rich enough to entirely support a Professor, was empowered to devote one fellowship to some such purpose; the whole of the Founder's educational, disciplinary, social, and sumptuary rules were swept away; and powers were given to the governing body to make further regulations

[1] On this point there had been an elaborate but sophistical appeal in 1834–5 by G. R. M. Ward (Sch. 1819, Fell. 1827–35); he failed to prove more than a few doubtful precedents for exemption, and eventually collapsed. In 1838–9 he attempted to reopen the question; but having no *locus standi* published a foolish pamphlet, in which he maintained sweepingly that most of the fellows disregarded the statutes, "whenever it suited their ambition, avarice, or other unworthy motives."

[2] This number was increased to 8 in 1870.

on such matters as Residence, Chapel Services, Library, and Declarations. Fellowships were still vacated by marriage, the acceptance of a benefice, or the acquisition of freehold office or property of over a certain value. Shortly afterwards considerable alterations were made in the tutorial arrangements, including the appointment of additional lecturers.

In 1866 Dr. Wilson was succeeded by SAMUEL WILLIAM WAYTE, B.D. (Sch. 1838, Fell. 1842, Hon. Fell. 1883), who had long been tutor and bursar. In 1871 the rectory of Garsington was detached from the presidency, and became one of the College livings with a resident rector. In 1876 an interesting relic of the Founder's arrangements disappeared in the commutation of the benefaction for poor prisoners, which was then paid to the Oxford County Gaol. Mr. Wayte continued to supervise the management of the estates, which had already owed so much to his genius for financial administration; and he also took an active though silent part in the government of the University. He resigned 12 Sept. 1878, and retired to Clifton, where he died 7 Sept. 1898. "His Liberalism," writes a friend, "was of a moderate and cautious type. There was a general impression in the University that any course he recommended was likely to be reasonable and safe. . . . Few people have shown more clearly how much can be effected by the silent influence of a thoroughly good life."

The last University Commission, the recommendations of which became law in 1882 made further alterations in the constitution of the College; the presidency was thrown open to laymen, as well as all the

remaining fellowships, except one, which must be filled by a clergyman acting as chaplain. The prohibition of marriage was removed, subject to certain regulations as to formal permission and residence in College, but at the same time the tenure for life was reduced in the case of ordinary non-official or prize fellowships to seven years, and in the case of the official fellows, doing various forms of work for the College, to variable terms of years subject to re-election. The scholarships were raised in number to 16, but the tenure was reduced to 4 years in two equal periods, and provision was made for an exhibition fund which absorbs most of the old benefactions; it has usually been necessary to suspend 2 of the 12 fellowships for this purpose. Under various clauses the College can elect to some sort of fellowship, if it has the wherewithal, any male person possessing any qualifications which can be described as academic. It is to be feared that, for the fellows, the permission of marriage and the abolition of the life tenure will tend not only to break up the old sociability of life in College, but also to diminish the sense of corporate existence, which has been so strong a bond of union in the past. The New Statutes leave a restricted Visitatorial power to the Bishops of Winchester; at this moment it is for the second time in the hands of an old Trinity man, Randall Thos. Davidson, D.D. (Com. 1867), successively Dean of Windsor and Bishop of Rochester and of Winchester, who was succeeded at Windsor[1] by another Trinity man, Philip Frank Eliot, D.D. (Com. 1853),

[1] Trinity thus possesses simultaneously the three clerical officers of the Order of the Garter, viz., the Bishop of Winchester, Prelate, the Bishop of Oxford, Chancellor, and the Dean of Windsor, Registrar.

From a photograph by the [*Oxford Camera Club*

NEW BUILDINGS AND PRESIDENT'S LODGINGS

while his elevation to the See of Winchester involved the promotion of EDGAR CHARLES SUMNER GIBSON, D.D. (Com. 1867), to the vicarage of Leeds, and the Rev. HUGH PENTON CURRIE (Com. 1873), to the principalship of the Theological College at Wells.

Mr. Wayte was succeeded as President by the Rev. JOHN PERCIVAL, M.A., formerly Fellow of Queen's, headmaster of Clifton College 1862–78. In 1887 Mr. Percival, who had been appointed to a canonry of Bristol in 1882, resigned the presidency on accepting the head-mastership of Rugby School. On 25 March 1895, he was consecrated Bishop of Hereford,[1] and received the degree of D.D. by diploma; in 1891 he was elected Honorary Fellow of Trinity. His portrait will shortly be placed in the College hall by the gift of his successor, the Rev. HENRY GEORGE WOODS, M.A. (Fell. 1865–79, re-elected 1883, tutor 1869–80, bursar 1869–87, Hon. Fell. 1898), who took the degree of D.D. in 1892, and discharged many important functions in the University, especially in connexion with the University picture gallery. On Dr. Woods's resignation of the presidency on 1 Sept. 1897, the choice of the fellows fell on Mr. HENRY FRANCIS PELHAM, M.A. (Sch. 1865–9), Fellow of Exeter College 1869–89, Camden Prof. of Ancient History (as successor to another Trinity and Exeter man, Canon G. Rawlinson) and Fellow of Brasenose in 1889.

The greatest event of the last twenty years of the

[1] Until last year Trinity had four bishops, their lordships of Winchester, St. David's, Oxford, and Hereford, who were respectively commoner, scholar, fellow, and president of the college, but in each case commoner, scholar, etc. only.

College history, the erection of the New Buildings,[1] was the product of the joint exertions of Dr. Percival and Dr. Woods. In 1882 the number of undergraduates living in College was only fifty-seven; the rest lived in lodgings; and, though some of those, such as the "cottages" in Broad Street, belonging to the College, were not far off, it was felt desirable to bring in at least the majority of the freshmen. The College had acquired, in the eighteenth century, most of the land between the old buildings and the street, and had, fortunately, refused, though sometimes only by the efforts of an obstinate minority, to part with any portion of it for a Taylor Building, a Martyrs' Memorial, New Schools, or an Indian Institute. To this area was added Kettell Hall, which had fallen to Oriel College on the expiration of Kettell's lease, and was now sold by Oriel in the most friendly and obliging manner, though part of their original endowment. The site consisted of the presidential kitchen-garden and orchard, stable-yard, brew-house, &c., with the gardens of Kettell Hall and of the cottages, and a corner of the Grove, forming a larger space than would be imagined by any one who remembered only the old approach to the chapel. The new buildings, designed by Mr. T. G. Jackson, now R.A., in a rather advanced Jacobean style, were commenced in 1883 and inhabited in 1885; his

[1] No rooms had been added since 1728, though most of the attics had been raised, and the rooms in the N.W. angle (No. 7, now 14) partly rebuilt. The Chapel Tower was renewed in 1822-3, and the mouldings, etc., touched up with "Roman cement or compot" in 1827. A new Lecture Room was built in 1876, and the nucleus of the undergraduates' library placed there in 1877.

plan was completed in 1885–7 by the erection of a large and sunny house for the President on rather more than the area of Bathurst's Buildings. The "Cottages" became sets of rooms approached from the north; the porter's lodge was transferred to the new front, in which the iron gates were flanked by a wall with piers copied from those on Park Street; the new quadrangle was laid out with turf surrounding all the orchard trees that could be preserved; and the old Lodgings were converted into sets of rooms. The result has been not only to improve enormously the appearance of the College and of Broad Street, but also, now that Kettell Hall is reoccupied, to increase the accommodation by over forty sets of rooms, a large lecture room, and an undergraduates' reading-room and library, which, however, though a handsome room, is already too small for its purpose, and must soon be replaced by one which will hold more books and tables. The total cost of this scheme came to about £22,000, of which nearly £6000 was generously contributed by members of the College, the two Presidents giving £1000 each, 9 Fellows £1500, 16 ex-Fellows £1001, 28 ex-Scholars £641, and 23 Commoners £579. This great addition to the College, therefore, was achieved on much the same lines as the first extensions in the 17th century.

Nor has the present century been unmarked by benefactions intended to promote objects more strictly educational. A fund, which was started in 1824, for the purchase of advowsons, to which the College should present, received considerable sums as gifts or legacies from many of the officers of the College, and especially a legacy of £1000 in 1837 from George Richards, D.D.

(Sch. 1785-90), Fellow of Oriel, and Vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. The rectory of Newbold Verdun was purchased from the fund in 1843; at present it is used chiefly for the improvement of the benefices already possessed by the College. The Rev. JAMES FORD, B.D. (Sch. 1798, Fell. 1806–31), an able but eccentric antiquary, who died Vicar of Navestock in 1850, left two sums of money to accumulate, one for the purchase of advowsons, the other for the endowment of "Ford Students" from the Grammar Schools of Canterbury, Ipswich, and Brentwood; the first student was elected in 1883. Similarly he left the University a sum to endow a professorship, eventually founded as "Ford's Readership in English History." ALDBOROUGH HENNIKER, Esq., gave £700 in 1867 to found a small exhibition which bears his name, while another gentleman, also not a member of the College, THOMAS MILLARD, Esq., bequeathed in 1873 the sum of £8000 for the advancement of mathematical and natural science, which has gone some way towards supporting two laboratories, chemical and physical, a lecturer, and three or four scholars in chemistry. This is the only substantial addition made to the revenues since the Abbots Langley property, which is also allocated to special purposes; and Trinity College, like the University of Oxford, has always depended, probably to its real advantage, rather on regular voluntary support than on large corporate endowments.

At the suggestion of Dr. Percival, and under the generous care of Dr. Woods, the College has recognised external as well as internal interests by the establishment, in 1887, of the Trinity College Mission

District in the East of London in connexion with the Great Eastern Railway Works in Stratford-le-Bow. The work is at present carried on by a resident missioner and an assistant missioner, both in Orders, in a Mission Church and Settlement House, which comprises a men's club, a boys' club, and rooms for residents and visitors. The development of the work, with the co-operation of the Bishop of St. Albans' Fund, is widely known, both in Stratford and in Oxford; it is assisted by many present and former Trinity men in various ways, and directed by a College Committee. A "Women's Settlement" at Stratford, in connexion with St. Margaret's House at Bethnal Green, has worked with the Mission for two years. The success of the Trinity Mission is greatly due to the efforts of the first two missioners, the Rev. C. Baumgarten, and the Rev. W. J. Roxburgh.

If, at the close of the nineteenth century, the College finds itself, not without wants and difficulties indeed, but, in whatever degree, prosperous and efficient, it is the duty of its historian, as of the Preacher of old, to show how the little city has been made a greater one only by the continuous efforts of its citizens; it is his aim to bring to light for a moment careers perhaps little remembered, and enactments long since obsolete, as all contributing towards the ideal for which universities and colleges exist, and as all pointing the ancient moral that "Wisdom is better than Strength."

APPENDIX

THE principal possessions of Trinity College in the way of Plate and Stained Glass have been noticed at suitable points; there is little to be added to what was said about the Library, except that it contains a few fair specimens of early binding, notably two volumes bound in white calf with gold tooling from the collection of Henry VIII. A few autograph letters from Johnson, Warren Hastings, Newman, and others, mostly selected from Ingram's hoards of papers, are displayed in a case. It only remains to give a list of the portraits in the College, though many of them are only copies.

IN THE HALL.

Sir Thomas Pope, by Francis Potter, B.D., after the Holbein at Tyttenhanger; Lady Pope, an old picture on panel, possibly adapted from the effigy in the chapel; Sir Wm. Pope, first Earl of Downe, signed by Marcus Gheeraerts the younger, given by Kett; Richard Rands, B.D., a good specimen of the early English school; Ralph Kettell, D.D., President, enlargement from original in the President's Lodgings; Gilbert Sheldon, D.D., Archbp. of Canterbury, probably after Lely, given by Rev. T. Ford; Seth Ward, D.D., President, Bishop of Salisbury, by or after John Greenhill, given by Ingram; Ralph Bathurst, D.M., President, adapted by Sonman from the print of a miniature by Loggan; Wm. Derham,

D.D., Canon of Windsor, original; Sir John Willes, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, by T. Hudson, given by Woods; Wm. Pitt, Earl of Chatham, copy by Joseph Smith, given by Kett; Frederick, Lord North, after N. Dance, given by Ingram; Hon. Brownlow North, Bishop of Winchester, after H. Howard, given by Short; Thos. Warton, B.D., head, copied by Dr. Penrose after the print; Cardinal Newman, copy of Ouless by the donor, Miss Percival; Robinson Ellis, M.A., Professor of Latin, by G. P. Jacomb-Hood, given by Woods; Sir Roundell Palmer Earl of Selborne, by Miss E. Busk; Thos. Claughton, D.D., Bishop of St. Albans, by G. P. Jacomb-Hood; Wm. Stubbs, D.D., Bishop of Oxford, by C. W. Furse; E. A. Freeman, D.C.L., Regius Professor of Modern History, by H. Vos; Lord Lingen, by G. P. Jacomb-Hood; Canon George Rawlinson, sometime Camden Professor of Ancient History, by Wilson Forster.

In the Common Room.

Sir Thos. Pope, copy by Sonman, formerly in the Bodleian Gallery; Lady Pope, copy of the picture in the Hall, given by Woods; Thos. Warton, by Sir Joshua Reynolds 1784, bequeathed by Thos. Penrose, D.C.L., of New College; Samuel Johnson, attributed to Romney, given by Canon Duckworth; James Ford, B.D., coloured pencil drawing by W. H. Bennett; Walter Savage Landor, drawing in India ink by Branwhite.

Elsewhere in College.

Small head on panel, "1557 aet. suae 52," described as Queen Mary, in the Library; Sir Thos. Pope, head and shoulders, after the usual portrait, in the Bursar's room; Richard Bradley, 50 years servant of the College, by T. Kirkby, in the Common Room stores.

In the President's Lodgings.

Sir Thos. Pope, two good old copies on panel, differing slightly in details, of the picture at Tyttenhanger; Lady Pope, good copy of the picture in the Hall; Bernard Adams, Bishop of Limerick, original on panel; Robert Wright, Bishop of Bristol, original (or replica on panel); Thomas Allen, B.D., original, given by himself; Ralph Kettell, original, from memory, by G. Bathurst, B.D.; two early heads of academic personages on panel; Ralph Bathurst, by Sir G. Kneller, given by Wm. Bragge of New College; Thomas Rowney, benefactor, original or replica; Joseph Chapman, D.D., President, copy by A. Macdonald, given by Woods; Thos. Warton, copy from Reynolds by Miss A. M. Curran, given by Warton's grand-niece, Miss M. C. Saunders; John Carne, D.D., Fellow, by G. Huddesford; James Ingram, D.D., President, two pictures, (1) head as a young man; (2) three-quarter length dated 1848.

There are also portraits "e legatis J. Ingram" of persons not connected with the College, viz., Sir Nicholas Bacon, Mary Queen of Scots, Queen Maria Beatrice (?), Jacob Hall the rope dancer, and an unknown 18th-century geographer or architect.

INDEX

Names of Durham College or Trinity College men, of whom Memoirs are provided in the "Dictionary of National Biography," are asterisked.

ABBOTS LANGLEY, 46
Adams, Bernard, Bishop, 90
*Addington, A., 196
*Allen, Thomas, 79
*Andrewes, J., 121
Appylby, W., 14, 35
*Apsley, Allen, 119
*Ash, J., 199
*Atkins, H., 95
*Aubrey, J., 122–3
*Aungerville, Richard, Bishop, 6–7

BAGOT, Sir H., 118
*Bampton, J., 198
Bartlett, R. E., 225
Basford, John, 36, 41, 42
*Bathurst, A., 180
Bathurst, E., 39, 182
Bathurst, G., 129, 134, 146, *sqq.*
*Bathurst, R., 105, 153, *sqq.*
*Beadon, F., 199
*Beauclerk, T., 196
*Bell, Richard, Bishop, 13
*Bell, J., 53
Bellamy, R., 75
*Benwell, W., 197
Berington, J., 9
Berington, R., 9
*Bernard, M., 223
Bertie, P., 166, 179
Beverley, J. de, 4
*Birkhead, H., 116
*Bishop, Sir E., 119
*Blackwell, G., 79
Blount, Sir Harry Pope, 49
*Blount, Sir Henry, 49, 118
Blount, R., cousin of Foundress, 49, 87, 104
*Blount, R., nephew of Foundress, 48, 80
Blount, Sir Thos. Pope, 48, 49, 88
Blount, W., 36, 42, 44
*Bolton, Uthred de, 8
*Bowden, J. W., 219
Bowen, Sir G. F., 225
*Bowles, W. L., 197
*Brandram, S., 227
Browne, W., 134
Bryce, Rt. Hon. J., 219
*Budgell, Eustace, 198
Burdon, G. de, 5
Burnby, J., 13
*Burton, Sir R. F., 228, *sqq.*
*Bysshe, Sir E., 121

CALVERT, C., 2nd Lord Baltimore, 123, 124
*Calvert, G., 1st Lord Baltimore, 97–99
Campion, A., 144
*Chamberlayne, J., 181
Chapel, 87, 88, 127, 144, 159, 164
Chapman, J., 188, 214
*Charlett, Arthur, 181

*Charnock, J., 199
Chaworth, G., Viscount, 97
*Chillingworth, Wm., 112–114, 122
*Claughton, T. L., Bishop, 222
*Clerk, Sir G., 227
*Cleveland, Earl of, 118
*Cobbe, Charles, Archbishop, 197
*Coleridge, H. J., 225
Combe, Francis, 46
*Compton, Hon. S., Earl of Wilmington, 180
*Constable, H., Viscount Dunbar, 84
Constable, Lady C., 87
Copeland, W. J., 221
Cranford, Samuel, 134
Craven, Lord, of Ryton, 112
*Craven, Sir Wm., Earl of, 115, 152
*Cuffe, H., 91–3
Currie, H. P., 237

*Dallaway, J., 197
Danvers, D., 46, 153
Davidson, Bishop, R. T., 8, 226
Davison, Sir H., 222
*Denham, Sir J., 122
*Deodate, Charles, 114
Derlington, Hugh de, 4
*Derham, W., 181
Dicey, A. V., 219
Dobson, William, 186–188
*Downe, Earls of, 45–46

*Eaton, J., 91
Ebchester, R., 13
Ebchester, W., 12
Eliot, P. F., 236
Ellis, Robinson, 219
Elizabeth, Queen, 29, 34, 82, 88, 92
Elwyk, G., 5

*Faringdon, A., 113
*Fisher, S., 115
Fitton, Sir E., 119
Fitzsymons, L., 77
*Flavel, J., 121
*Fleetwood, Sir P. H., 227
*Ford, R., 227
*Ford, Sir E., 119
*Ford, J., 240
*Freeman, E. A., 225

*Gaskin, G., 199
Gaudy, 50, 55, 69, 226
*Gellibrand, H., 104, 121
Gibson, E. C. S., 237
*Gilbert, J. Archbishop, 197
*Gill, Alex., 112
*Glanvill, J., 49
Glemham, H., Bishop, 117
*Glemham, Sir T., 118, 134
*Goodenough, Sir W. H., 227
Goodwin, T., 146
Graystanes, R. de, 4
*Greenhill, W. A., 221
*Gregory, E., 181
Grove, 27, 51, 160, 238
*Guilford, Earls of, 47
Guillemard, H. P., 222

*Haddan, A. W., 222
*Hamilton, G. A., 227
*Harrington, J., 121
*Harris, J., 172, *sqq.*
*Harris, R., 135, *sqq.*
*Hatfield, Thomas, Bishop, (c. 1)
Hawes, William, 148
*Headley, H., 197
Henniker, A., 240
*Herbert, H., Lord, 180
*Hickes, G., 120
*Highmore, N., 116
*Hobart, Lord, 223
*Hoby, Sir E., 95
*Hoby, Sir T. P., 95
*Hook, William, 120
*Hopkins, W., 145
Horne, R., Bishop, 76–77
Hotman, J., 94
*Houton, R. de, 4
*How, Josias, 111, 136, 141, 151
Huddesford, G., 197
*Huddesford, W., 197
Hutchins, E., 42

Hyndmer, E., 18, 80

*Ingram, J., 214, 232, 225
*Ireton, H., 115, 120, 135
*Ironside, G., Bishop, 116

Johnson, Dr., 194
*Jones, W. B. T., Bishop, 225

*Kett, H., 207
*Kettell, R., 100 *sqq.*
Kettel Hall, 105, 194, 207 238
*Kinsey, W. M., 218
*Kymer, G., 13

*Landor, W. S. 199
Langley, Thomas Cardinal, 16
*Langton, B., 195
Ledbury, T., 12
Lee, Ann, 214
Lee, Lady Eliz., 47, 166
Lee, Thomas, 214
*Legge, W., Earl of Dartmouth, 198
*Lewgar, J., 123
*Lewin, T., 222
Lewkener, Sir C., 118
*Lethieullier, S., 199
Lindsey, Earl of, 46
Lingen, R. R. W., Lord, 223
*Lucy, W., Bishop, 27
*Ludlow, Edmund, 108, 120
Lydall, J., 140–141

*Maitland, Viscount, 198
*Mant, R., Bishop, 197
Marriott, W. B., 225
*Merivale, H., 222
*Merrick, J., 197
Mews, Peter, Bishop, 167
Meyrick, F., 225
Millard, T., 240
*Molesworth, J. E. N., 227
More, Sir P., 126
More, Sir Thomas, 31
Morley, G., Bishop 153, 156
*Morton, Sir W., 119
*Musgrave, Sir P., 115

*Napier, Sir G., 115
Napier, Sir J., 131, 145
Narrare, 62, 205
*Nelson, W., 181
*Newbery, F., 199
*Newdigate, Sir R., 120, 137
*Newman, A. 121
*Newman, J. H., Cardinal, 214, 219 228
*Newton, Thomas, 97
*North, Brownlow, Bishop, 47
*North, Francis, Lord, 178, 198
*North, Frederick, Lord, 48, 198
Norris, W. F., 225

*Ogle, Dr. J. A., 221
Ornsby, R., 219

*Packer, J., 74, 135
*Palgrave, Sir W. G., 225
*Palmer, R., Earl of Selborne, 222
*Palmes, Sir B., 118
*Parker, S., Bishop, 145
Pelham, H. F., 237
Perilous Hall, 20
Percival, J., Bishop, 237
Perte, J., 52, 68, 69
Pickering, W., 112
Pinder, N., 225
*Pitt, Wm., Earl of Chatham, 197
Plate, 71, 77, 85, 87, 106, 107, 108, 127, 132, 164, 201, 231
Pole, Cardinal, 37, 65, 75
*Potter, F., 104, 132, 136
*Potter, H., 132, 151, 152
Pope, John, 44, 45, 54
*Pope, Lady, 36, 39, 40
Pope, Lady Frances, 47
*Price, Sir C., 198
Portraits, 39, 89, 104, 129, 159, 215, 221, 232, 237
Poulet, Amias, 48, 93
*Poulet, Sir Hugh, 32, 41, 48, 71
*Poulet, Lady, 71, 94
*Pycroft, Sir T., 227

*Randall, J., 96
Randall, James, 231
Rands, R., 110
Raper, R. W., 232
Rawes, T., 74
*Reeve, R., 145
*Reeve, Sir T., 180
*Richards, G., 239
*Richards, W., 144
*Rickards, Sir G. K., 222
*Rogers, J., 199
*Rogers, T., 181

St. Bernard's College, 19, 28, 51
*St. John, Oliver, Viscount Grandison, 96
*St. John, Hon. J., 198
*Salmon, T., 145
Savile, Sir H., 92
Scott, T., 76
Seal, 74
*Settle, E., 181
Servitors, 84, 96, 208
*Sever, Bishop, 13
*Shaw, J., 181
*Sheldon, G., Archbishop, 117, 136, 137
Short, T., 218
*Sinclair, Sir J., 198
*Skinner, J., 209
*Skinner, R., Bishop, 94, 116, 151
Skirlaw, W., Bishop, 16
Slymaker, H., 94
Slythurst, T., 36, 52, 58, 66, 75
Smith, I. G., 225
Smith, Joseph, 231
*Smith, Richard, Bishop, 90
Smith, Sir W., 119
*Somers, John, Earl, 163, 179
*Stanhope, James, Earl, 180
Staynoe, Thomas, 145
*Stratford, N., Bishop, 144
Stubbs, W., Bishop, 219
Sutton, Sir R., 180
Sykes, Thomas, 170, 185

Tanfield, W. de, 4
*Tate, Zouch, 135
Thomas, J., 222
Tupper, W. G., 225
Turner, E. T., 225
Turner, W., 166
*Twisleton, E. T. B., 222
Tylney, F., 183

Verney, Sir Edmund, 169 *sqq.*
*Verney, Sir Francis, 84

*Ward, Seth, Bishop, 149
Wardford, Wm., 81
Warren, T., 80
*Warton, T., 190, 193, 194
Wayte, S. W., 216, 223, 231 *sqq.*
Webbe, A. J., 230
Wentworth, H., 46, 118
*Wentworth, Lords, 46, 84, 86, 98, 118
Wharton, C., 71, 77
Whetstone, J., 108
Whistler, D., 116
Whistler, H., 90
Whistler, J., 90
Whitby, D., 144
Wilkins, H. M., 225
*Willes, Sir J., 180
*Williams, I., 221
*Wilmot, J., 188
*Wilson, A., 122
Wilson, J., 216, 218, 232, 235
*Winnington, Sir F., 145
*Wise, F., 194, 196
Wood, E., 134
Woods, H. G., 232, 237, 240
Wood, W., 225
Wren, C., 160, 163
*Wright, R., Bishop, 89

Yeldard, A., 42, 52, 58, 76 *sqq.*

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